

THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

MARITIME HISTORY & ARTS



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THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY AND ARTS

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ON THE COVER

Westward to Bladon
Wilfred Morden, RI

This memorial canvas was commissioned by the Port of London Authority to record the river stage of the state funeral of Sir Winston Churchill on January 30, 1965. The PLA launch *Havengore* carries the coffin, the cranes on the south side dip in salute, and the aircraft of the Royal Air Force stage a fly-past as the great River Thames stands flushed and silent in tribute to one of the great leaders of the twentieth century.

Reproduced courtesy of the
Museum of London, PLA Collection
With thanks from the *Havengore* Trust

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Sir Winston S. Churchill enjoyed a long association with the Royal Navy. He was twice First Lord of the Admiralty, and was arguably fundamental to the maintenance of Britain's naval primacy at the outset of the First World War. Again, in 1939 he was First Lord. It is reputed that when he returned to the Admiralty a message was flashed around the fleet: "Winston is Back." His noted biographer, Sir Martin Gilbert, has never found verification of this, despite considerable digging. And perhaps it is all part of the corpus of Churchillian legends.

Once Churchill was asked if it were true that the history of the Royal Navy was nothing more than "rum, sodomy and the lash," which is what he had reputedly said of it. No, he said, that was not so but declared that he wished he had dreamed that one up.

The anecdotes about Winston and the Navy are numerous and wonderful, and my favorite will always be this one: When Winston returned as First Sea Lord in 1939, he visited a naval base to examine an ASDIC antisubmarine defense system (Anti-Submarine Detection Indicator Committee, happily renamed, according to US usage, SONAR — Sound Navigation and Ranging). He wanted to see the system in action. He was taken aboard one of H.M. ships and sailed to an area where submerged wrecks were known to exist. In due course ASDIC did its job. Churchill asked what happened next. The officer in charge explained that they would then depth-bomb the target. This was done, as Winston watched. A few seconds passed, and then there was a violent explosion underground. All sorts of debris appeared on the surface. Amid the wreckage was a door bearing upon it the letters W. C. Afterwards Churchill observed "The navy always knew how to pay proper compliments, bless them." And one more thing: reading Mary Soames' latest book — correspondence between her father and mother — it is fun to note that Winston called the Sea Lords of the Admiralty the Seals.

This issue of *The Neptune* honors Churchill's association with matters maritime. Our cover boasts a fine painting of the funeral launch, then the working hydrographic vessel of the Port of London Authority, *Havengore*. Sally Browne's article on this vessel and its restoration to a state of operation is a reminder of how quickly marine heritage could slip away were it not for the rescuing activities of the likes of Sally and of her husband Owen Palmer. It is sad to think that a great maritime nation such as Britain should have allowed this famous vessel to have fallen into such disrepair. All the more thanks are due to Sally and Owen for their heroic duties in bringing back *Havengore* to her illustrious state. Not only will the memory of Sir Winston S. Churchill be properly kept green on the tidal reaches of the Thames, at Chatham in the Medway. Many disadvantaged children who otherwise would not have a chance to see the river will benefit through the workings of The *Havengore* Trust (PO Box 167, Gillingham, Kent, UK ME7 4RD).

This issue continues our wide and sweeping coverage of matters maritime. It includes Michael Santos's article on pre-industrial Gloucester,

Mass., describing the dynamics of a world we have lost. Jo Stanley's essay on typists of the Cunard Line will make similarly interesting reading, recovering as she has through scrupulously detailed research particulars of a special class of typists. Michael Dyer's article on cutting-in patterns in whaling will be a welcome addition to the enlarging literature on whaling, and we are pleased to have it in *The American Neptune*. Our issue contains numerous reviews, notices and miscellaneous items.

As this issue goes to press, the Makah of Washington State have killed their first whale in eighty years. Their kin, the Nuuchah-Nulth of British Columbia, are cheering them on. We are into a new era of whaling politics, the end of which is not in sight. Future pages could be devoted to this subject should we receive learned and well researched articles. I wonder if in future times a new Herman Melville will give a name to that first Makah kill.

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PORT OF LONDON AUTHORITY'S *HAVENGORE* SAVING SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S FUNERAL LAUNCH

SALLY BROWNE

Havengore is a beautiful wooden vessel being restored in Kent, England. Her past sets a high standard but an exciting and worthy future is planned. *Havengore* is a fine example of wooden boat building in post Second World War England. For forty years she led a double life as hydrographic survey vessel and ceremonial launch on the River Thames. When considered unviable, she fell into disrepair to later become a restoration project to send a shiver down the spine of the most experienced boat builder.

In 1954 the Port of London Authority (PLA) issued tenders to reputable boat builders. The survey vessel, an ex-Second World War Admiralty boat, the Harbour Defence Motor Launch (HDML) *Shorne Mead* was to be replaced. The new vessel must accommodate a large crew as well as facilities for chart making equipment. The *Shorne Mead* achieved 12 knots and so should the replacement.

A Thames-based family boat company, Toughs Bros., was successful. Located in Teddington they had been connected with the River Thames since the 1820s, and were established as one of the most respected and successful yards. In 1951 Toughs Bros. had completed PLA survey vessel *Thame*, a single skin teak

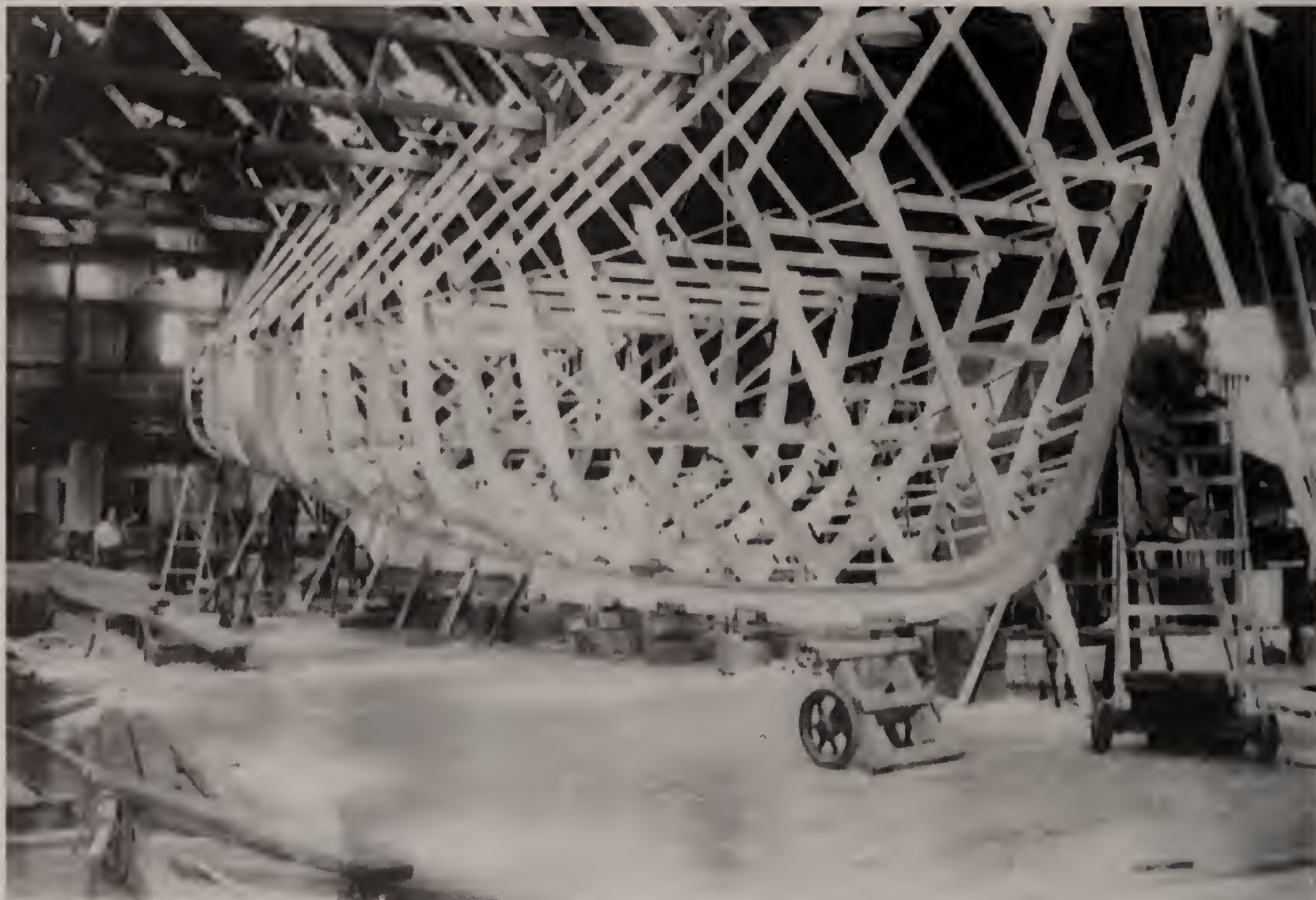
vessel, and in the years prior to 1954 had carried out repair work on the PLA fleet. Toughs also had to submit the lowest quote to secure the tender.

Considering the experience of the yard it is no surprise *Havengore* was designed and built there and to such standards. Achieving the required speed proved the biggest challenge. *Shorne Mead* was a much smaller and lighter boat. Considering the design of the new vessel, including a rounded stern and weight concerns, a double skin teak hull, diagonal construction, with a total thickness of 1½" on an English oak frame was appropriate.

For three months Toughs Bros. designed and built models. The National Physical Laboratory, also based in Teddington, was asked to carry out tank trials, to design a suitable propeller and supervise the underwater fittings. A model of a boat which would do over 12 knots was established. By the end of 1954 work commenced on *Havengore*. With an average of ten men working on her, she took nine months to build. It has been customary of the PLA to name their craft after landmarks, tributaries of the Thames or distinguished persons who have held office on their Board. *Havengore* is a tributary of the River Thames.

Havengore is powered by twin Gardner diesel engines, giving a service speed of 12 knots. The engines sitting proudly in a spacious well-appointed engine room are a handsome feature of the vessel. The PLA's insistence on this particular motor was well founded. The Gardner family started business in Manchester in 1868, determined to produce first-class engines. Attention to detail, stringent quality control, and a positive working environment produced an engine with every

Sally Browne, B.Sc.Hons., worked for an international agency specializing in educational and medical research. She met her husband, Owen Palmer, in Australia, and spent the next eight years there, heading the medical data research department of his company. To fulfill a dream to instill strong self reliance in young people, the *Havengore* was purchased in 1996. After restoration, she will facilitate a comprehensive program of educational activities based on Churchillian values.



Havengore, built in 1955 at Toughs Boatyard, Teddington, England. Teak, double diagonal construction on English oak members. In frame. Courtesy Toughs Bros., Teddington.

working component produced “in house” and a reputation for reliability, durability and economy. The Gardner motor is still considered by many the best available.

Havengore had all the modern gadgets available: Kelvin and Hughes echo sounder, Decca Navigator, Pye radiotelephone, and Francis searchlight with interior control. She also had a central heating system, spacious engine room, ventilation by Airmax fans and engines with fresh water cooling by Serek heat exchanges. The Mathway steering gear and twin rudders made for easy handling. A Kent Clear View screen, remote tachometers, and Sestrel compass also helped general operation.

On teak laid decks, the superstructure (also of teak except for the Duralumin wheelhouse roof), consists of chartroom and wheelhouse. Built for River and Estuary work these areas on *Havengore* are particularly large and well appointed. Below decks is spacious, light and

airy with good headroom, in addition to ample storage facilities, pantry and galley, there are three cabins, crews quarters accommodating ten and two toilets with washing facilities.

The trials occurred 1 February 1956, departing Tower Pier at 8:15 a.m. Aboard were approximately ten PLA representatives, nine from Toughs Bros. (including both Toughs), a gentleman from the National Physical Laboratory, two from Morris Henty & Gardners, two from the electrical company, J. B. Marr, and one from each of Decca Navigation, Kelvin Hughes (Echo sounder) and Thornycroft (Shafting) as well as four journalists. Speed trials took from 09:45 to 11:30; the measured distance was 6080 feet with an average depth of 37 feet. Six runs were made, rpms ranging from 910 to 920 and 900 to 950 on the starboard and port engines, respectively, giving an average of 910. The speed ranged from 11.28 to 13.25 knots, giving an average of 12.25

knots

Havengore fulfilled all specifications and expectations. Comments from one of the Gardner representatives at the trials show all went well:

By 11:30 the water temperature had risen to 109F and the oil to 116F so the governors on the engines had a bit in hand i.e. the props were a fraction light and were only absorbing about 140 BHP of the full 152 available... they were a good choice.

The maneuvering tests were not timed and measured, but the vessel proved very handy to turn with her Mathway steering gear and twin rudders and was pulled up quickly from full speed ahead by use of the reverse gear.

A 1956 report concluded: "this new survey boat is soundly constructed and presents a very smart appearance; the hull was finished in dark blue and the upper works in natural varnish." The same reporter expressed appreciation for the efficient central heating system supplied from a boiler with Kempsafe oil firing equipment, not to be underestimated on trials lasting over eight hours at temperatures well below freezing!

And so *Havengore* went to work. The PLA has jurisdiction over the entire tidal Thames between Teddington and the Outer Thames Estuary, a length of 95 miles. It was established in 1908 as a public trust for the purpose of administering, preserving, and improving the port of London and for other purposes including the conservancy of the River Thames. Today the PLA has considerable, all-encompassing powers in the administration of the Thames.

One important PLA responsibility is hydrographic survey. *Havengore* was engaged in the vital task of plotting changes to the bed of the Thames River and Estuary, which is constantly reshaped by the combina-

tion of tide, current, wind, and traffic. Charts are produced for the information of mariners, and relevant detail is passed to the Royal Navy for inclusion in Admiralty charts. In these days of deep-draughted ships, it is the hydrographer's work that allows the pilot to take his ship in safety a few feet clear of the bed.

In her working prime, *Havengore* was moored permanently at Gravesend in Kent and served the lower Thames. In the summer months she worked the outer reaches of the Thames from Lower Hope down to the Nore buoy. During the winter she worked the more protected region the Lower Hope to Erith.

Due to the labor intensive nature of hydrographic survey work during the 1950s and early 1960s with skiffs, wire reels, etc. *Havengore* had been designed to carry twelve crew plus two, occasionally three, surveyors.

The way hydrographic survey has been performed has changed considerably, due mainly to the introduction of electronic equip-



Havengore's planking. Courtesy Toughs Bros., Teddington.



Havengore undergoing trials on the River Thames, February 1, 1956. Courtesy Toughs Bros., Teddington.

ment. In the past a surveyor could measure and chart only what he could see, or sound with a sounding lead. All procedures were extremely labor intensive. The “tide-watcher” would be sent off from *Havengore* in a skiff. He sat alone in the small wooden rowboat, all day, recording every five minutes the height of the tide on the flood or ebb. Motorboats and automatic tide gauges have certainly increased the data collection efficiency in this instance. Speed and direction of water movements were measured using Logships and meters. The Iroquois Logship required constant observation, movements being recorded by hand.

Weather has always had a profound effect on position fixing bearings, which were taken visually. By the late 1960s radio and radar direction techniques performed well regardless of the weather. Accuracy and speed became a matter of electronic refinements. As for the recording, printing and display of data, digital plotters, printers, and software ensured presen-

tation was unbeatable.

The PLA had always run very much on naval lines with discipline and respect integral. This was the case in the 1950s and 1960s. The majority of the crew had either Royal or Merchant Navy backgrounds, and the surveyors on board were addressed as Mr. or Sir. Uniforms were worn at all times; the Mate and two Chief Boatmen (leading hands) wore the uniform of Chief Petty Officer.

The number of years many men spent with the PLA generally and with *Havengore* specifically is striking. One sentiment consistent throughout recollections was a fondness for the boat, the times shared, and friendships made during the time she was in service.

Men employed on the River Thames during the 1950s and 1960s worked hard but had fun; many were working with relations and friends. It has been described as a family firm. The camaraderie protected its members from the little day to day things which did not always

go as they should. Whilst *Havengore* did fine at trials, day-to-day performance often resulted in different demands and performance. For instance, the gravity-fed central heating resulted in *Havengore* warming up only by late afternoon each day.

Cooking facilities consisted of an eight-burner primus stove that regularly filled the mess deck with fumes and the meals with a paraffin flavor. This was later superseded by a huge cast iron oil fired range, which in a strong wind would cover the food, bulkheads and even the crew in oily, black smut! The 1960s saw the installation of an efficient Calor Gas oven.

Due to the storage capacity of 24-volt batteries the lighting often became poor and Tilly lamps were used. Not until the late 1960s was a 240-volt system installed, allowing bright lights and power to the computers, now essential to hydrographic survey work. *Havengore* was the first survey vessel in the United Kingdom to use computers for data logging. The computer was 16 KB with ten seconds of memory and the process involved miles of punched tape! Photographs show the enormous floor to ceiling metal cabinets of switches, reels, and displays. In 1989 new Unix workstations were installed, but were replaced by PCs in 1993.

In 1964 the jurisdiction of the PLA was extended from the Warden Point-Havengore Creek line to include the Thames Estuary. Whilst most of this outer region was covered by S. V. *Mappin*, *Havengore* was upgraded from river operations to estuarial work which required a significant amount of alteration externally in the shape of additional life saving equipment, mast lighting and two mile range steaming lights.

The Authority had always been successful, efficient and innovative. Despite difficult times during the war and labor negotiations most of its life, business was good. As the years passed, labor intensive industries could not escape the impact of modern technology and demands for increased efficiency and reduced costs. The hydrographic survey department proved no exception and high-maintenance wooden vessels offered a prime target.

The introduction of modern survey and

operational equipment gradually reduced the crew from twelve, when *Havengore* entered service, to five in 1995 when she left. *Havengore* had always had two engineers, each working two hours on and two hours off, signals transmitted to the engineer from the helmsman by Chadburn telegraphs. Hydraulically operated gearboxes allowed gear change and speed to be controlled from the wheelhouse, and only one engineer was required.

Survey operation increasingly took priority, the period between refits and servicing increased with only the most essential repairs carried out. With the further reduction of crew, day-to-day maintenance so important to a wooden craft suffered and *Havengore* began to deteriorate.

A part from life as a hydrographic survey vessel, *Havengore* had a high profile activity; she was frequently chosen for social and diplomatic roles. *Havengore* certainly looks the part; she is an attractive vessel, well designed with pleasing lines, but she is also well suited on a practical level. She could carry a dozen passengers in comfort in her large chart room. This area could quickly be transformed from work to social activity. Removal of the chart table and installation of carpet, lounge furniture, and soft furnishing regularly transformed a large efficient work area to a very pleasant, relaxing area for important visitors to be received, and enjoy, in privacy and comfort, entertainment on the River Thames.

Another possible reason *Havengore* was chosen for special occasions was that her deck height, higher than most, allowed easy transfer of passengers on and off the vessel. This was an important issue for the State Funeral of Sir Winston Churchill.

30 January 1965 *Havengore* performed her greatest honor when she carried the coffin of Sir Winston Churchill from Tower Pier to Festival Pier. The Thames-borne part of the state funeral is thought by many to have been the most moving of all, and a particularly fitting tribute to the great man who loved the



Havengore, PLA, hydrographic survey launch on the River Thames, late 1950s. Newspaper, *Kent Messenger*, 1959. Courtesy of Kent Messenger Group Newspapers.

The American Neptune



Havengore, PLA, hydrographic survey launch on the River Thames, late 1950s. Newspaper, *Kent Messenger*, 1959. Courtesy of Kent Messenger Group Newspapers.

water. Ties between the PLA and Sir Winston had begun in 1908 when Churchill as Minister of the Board of Trade had overseen the formulation of the Authority. The Association had probably been strongest throughout the years of the Second World War when the PLA was vital to the protection of London and her docklands. It was with "the most profound sense of loss" that the passing of Sir Winston was recorded by the PLA. It was the M1 *Havengore* that had the honor of this final duty and so herself sailed into history.

With the Earl Marshal, close family members, and the coffin of Sir Winston safely aboard *Havengore* drew away from Tower Pier at slow speed while the ceremonies were coming to an end. This included the Royal Air Force fly past, seventeen gun salute, and an unexpected tribute from the local stevedores. In the eerie calm, slowly the jibs of the cranes on

Hays wharf lowered. On the rear deck, the coffin draped in the Union Flag and bearing the insignia of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, was proudly flanked by the bearer party of Grenadier Guards. Wearing the flag of The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports at fore and the PLA ensign at her stern, she then proceeded at 800 revolutions (7.5 knots) through the No. 3 arch of each bridge to Festival Pier.

For many years, *Havengore* took part in Remembrance Day services. She carried members of the "Goldfish Club," men of the Royal Air Force who had been rescued from the sea after ejecting from their aircraft. In position, mid-channel off Westminster Pier, an RAF padre would conduct a short service, Big Ben would mark the minute's silence as he struck 11:00 a.m., and as the final notes of the Last Post were heard from Whitehall, a wreath



The state funeral of Sir Winston Churchill, January 30, 1965. *Havengore* proceeding up King's Reach, the flag of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Port fore, the red ensign at her stern. The coffin on the rear deck is flanked by the bearer party of the Grenadier Guards. Courtesy of the Museum of London.



The state funeral of Sir Winston Churchill. Ahead the Royal Navy Reserve Ship *Chrysanthemum*. Courtesy of the Museum of London.



Restoration commenced in June 1997. *Havengore* is moored at the ex-Royal Historic Dockyard, Chatham, England. The starboard deck, guard rail and cover boards removed, partly refastened — a long way to go. Courtesy of the *Havengore* trust.

was dropped over the side.

Havengore was always involved in one way or another with celebrations on the River Thames. London's Silver Jubilee celebrations for Queen Elizabeth II in 1977 saw *Havengore* join a pageant of more than one hundred boats and five simultaneous firework displays on the Thames. In celebration of the appointment of a new Lord Mayor of London various festivities occur in the city. One particular Show is re-

called from the late 1960s, a pageant with many flags and lights, *Havengore* with all the trimmings and a local band on board. Guests were mainly senior PLA officers and wives. A jolly time was had by all as she cruised off Westminster and up the River Thames. *Havengore* also accommodated many senior naval and PLA funerals as well as PLA and government officials inspecting Thameside facilities and developments.

Havengore could not compete with low cost, modern vessels. She was not efficient enough, took too many men to operate and cost too much to maintain. Her condition had deteriorated quickly in the later years when investment and care were limited. In 1995 she was no longer needed by the PLA and put up for tender.

On holiday in England, January 1996, Owen Palmer became aware of the sorry plight of *Havengore*. He was disappointed that the vessel had been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent, and lay unwanted in the Thames. The *Havengore* Trust was formed and the aim, a program of short stay holidays focused on young people realizing their full potential, established. *Havengore* presented the perfect opportunity to formulate such a program, combined with the honor of restoring a beautiful, historic vessel.

The restoration commenced June 1997. The first priority was to fix the leaking deck. With the guardrail and cover boards removed, small sections of the gunnel were replaced and the whole area strengthened. The refastening and caulking of the deck proved an incredibly hard and long job, taking many hands over two summers. Once the brass screws had been removed, epoxy resined hardwood dowels, filled the old positions, and approximately thirty-eight hundred stainless



Havengore, October 1997. There is still a lot of work to be done. Courtesy of the *Havengore* trust.

steel screws established new ones. The seams, about 4,000 feet in all, were rerouted, significantly increasing the width and thus the boat's ability to work without stress. Now the interior is dry and the deck looks wonderful. The hull is in excellent condition.

Many problems have been caused by the light construction of the superstructure. In the chartroom laminated pitch pine roof beams now bear on sturdy vertical posts. The original roof planking was refastened, skinned with marine ply, sheathed with woven glass cloth, and epoxy resined. Fresh water leaks at various points have resulted in major areas of rot. In some areas the 6" x 24" oak carling has been replaced and in others new exterior teak panels have had to be fitted. The chartroom exterior once featured pencil beading. Beyond restoration, a more detailed pattern has been routed and molded teak inserts fitted. Further efforts to stop the leaks include replacing the aluminum frames with traditional teak frames and larger

deck lights (fastened mid rather than between plank) have been fitted.

The first layers of varnish inspire, as it can be appreciated how the natural varnished teak will gleam with traditional quality and style. The outside of the vessel will retain its traditional look, with the blue hull and the majority of the superstructure in natural varnish. *Havengore* has elegant, traditional lines, which will be further enhanced once surplus work-related equipment is removed.

A major objective this year is to increase the profile of *Havengore* and to structure the project so the aims with which it began can become reality. This is going to take various forms, some yet to be confirmed and all ideas or expressions of interest are welcome.

Association with the International Churchill Society (ICS) has brought enthusiastic support. National and international programs will be developed where *Havengore* will exhibit for the benefit of all interested in the

vessel but specifically her connection with Sir Winston Churchill and modern history. An appreciation of the past tends to open one's eye to our power over the future. Where should we invest resources if not in the youth of today? This outlook is very much in line with that of the ICS and we hope to be able to work closely

together in the future.

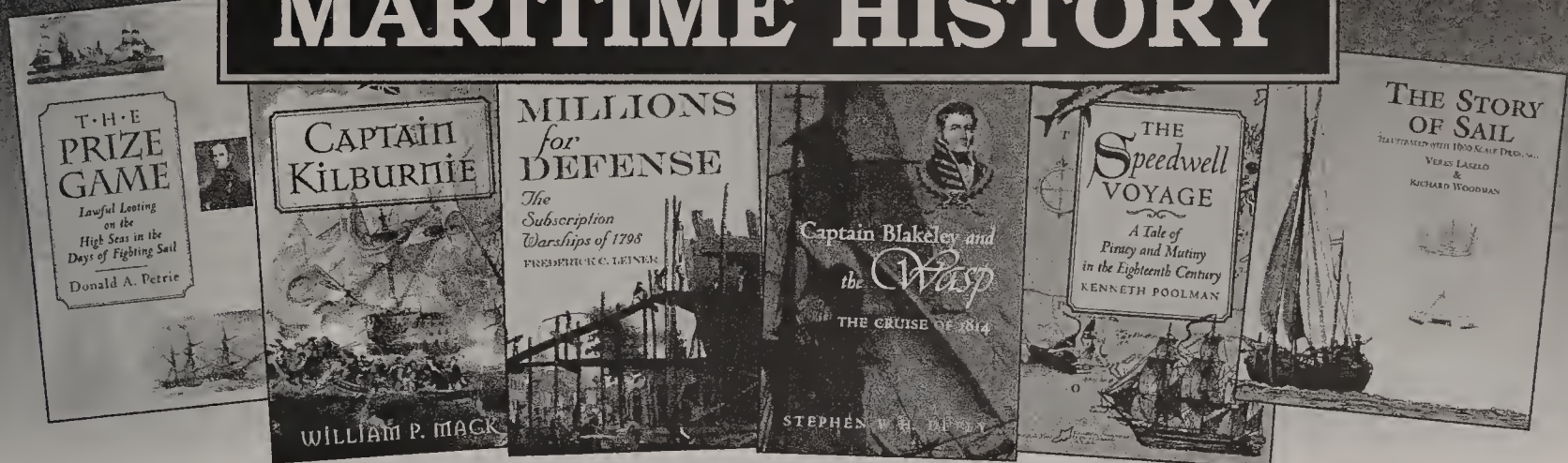
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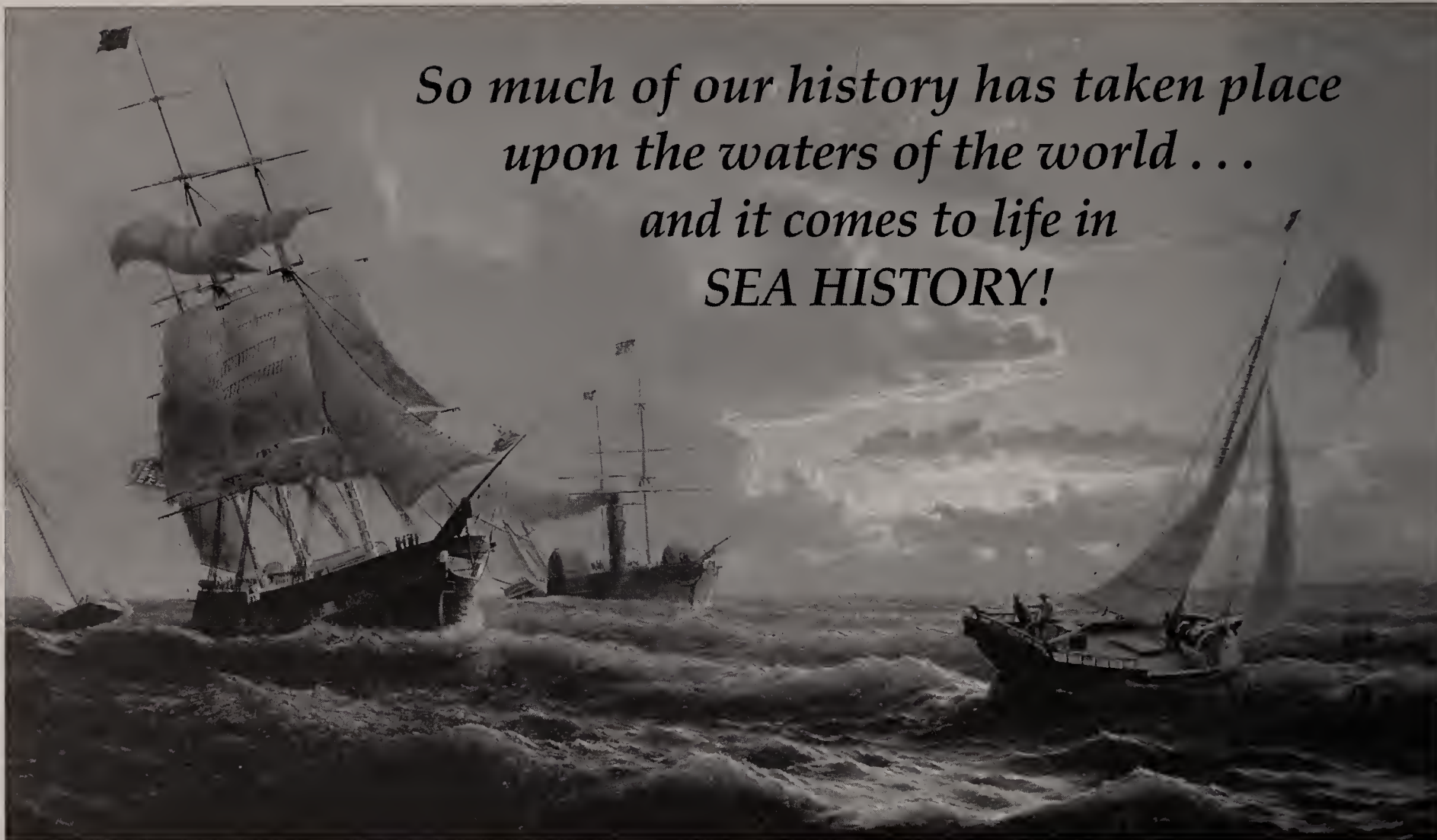
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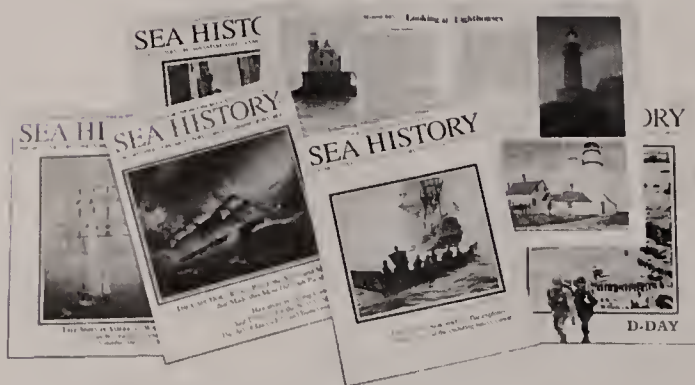
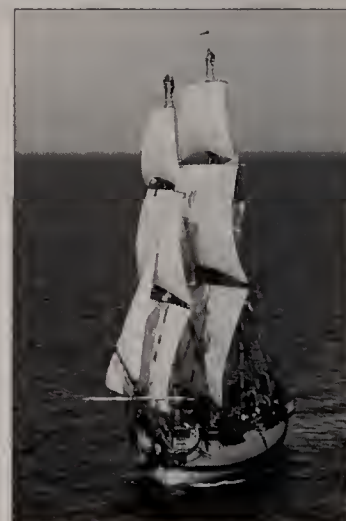
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CLASS AND COMMUNITY IN GLOUCESTER: SOURCES OF ANTI-INDUSTRIALISM IN THE NEW ENGLAND FISHING TOWN

MICHAEL WAYNE SANTOS

Industrialization caused massive dislocations in American society during the late nineteenth century. In the thirty-five years between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the century, the nation was transformed from a collection of small towns and agrarian communities to an urban and industrial society. Tied to their communities by generations of family, individuals had once derived most of their personal identity from associations within their small towns.

Now, as corporations fostered the bureaucratization and homogenization of the country, workers living in impersonal, growing metropolises became separated by skill and occupation. Even when they stayed in their town or rural community, Americans could not help being touched by the changes that were redefining the United States. New methods of transportation and communication linked every section of the land, leaving many to fear the expansion of urban culture into the countryside.

Amid all this upheaval, cities like Gloucester, Massachusetts, seemed peaceful throwbacks

to an earlier time. It is probably no coincidence that many of the movers and shakers of the new industrial era escaped to Cape Ann in the summer months to renew themselves. From the romanticism associated with the white-sailed fishing schooners entering and leaving the harbor, to the fishermen, who in Rudyard Kipling's words, had become "used to all manner of questions from those idle imbeciles called summer boarders," Gloucester had much to recommend it. Ironically, though, the fishermen's culture that so enchanted many affluent visitors was little different from the working class culture they disdained among their own employees.

Indeed, stripped of the romanticism of making a living from the sea, community relations in Gloucester reflected patterns identified by Herbert Gutman, who showed that industrialism and its values were resisted in small towns dominated by one or two industries.¹ Making up a large proportion of a town's total population, industrial laborers shopped in the small stores owned by the community's middle class and lived close to them. While in large metropolitan areas workers were dealt with as factors of production, in small towns daily contact and personal relationships mitigated against such attitudes, predisposing small businessmen to see workers simply as fellow citizens, and to treat them accordingly.

In Gloucester such events as vessel launchings, trial trips, and races brought skippers, fishermen, vessel owners, builders, and even the occasional yachtsman together on a fairly regular basis. Although their motivations for participating in these activities obviously dif-

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ferred, each in their own way was drawn by an interest in boats and the water. So much so that James Connolly once observed that one could come to believe "that the main interests of [Gloucester's] people were not so much the catching and marketing of fish from the banks as they were the building and racing home of fast fishing schooners."²

This preoccupation derived naturally from a city whose inhabitants made their living from the sea. Except for the yachtsmen and summer residents, whose interest in such events grew from their passion for boats or their penchant for local color, city residents had an economic stake in the doings on the waterfront. While races, launchings, and trial trips were often an excuse for a party, they generated the kind of gossip about vessels and captains that made reputations, and that had financial implications.

Paid on shares, fishermen wanted to crew for highline skippers, who for their part, wanted to captain first-rate vessels. Owners, naturally, wanted the best men and schooners because that meant profit. That created a commonality of interest that permeated the fo'c'sle and defined life ashore. Because everyone in the society had a vested interest in the same industry, class differences, while relevant, were ameliorated by the personal relations that informed community life. As in Gutman's towns, the economic fortunes of middle class citizens were tied to that of ordinary workers in such a way that cross-class empathy — if not always understanding — was possible.

The relationship of vessel owners and skippers is particularly instructive in this regard. As a means of attracting and keeping good men, it was common practice for owners to build a boat for what Thomas J. Carroll, president of Gorton-Pew Fisheries Company, termed "worthy" individuals.³ Good skippers, those who could bring in good money, were offered shares in their vessel.

Since captain and crew were paid based on what the vessel produced, partnership for the skipper meant additional revenue. He not only received his cut as the captain, but partook of

an owner's share as well. These arrangements led to long-term associations between fish companies and their captains, and no doubt encouraged a sense of mutual understanding and respect not evident in industries like iron and steel that were leading the way in redefining labor-management relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Certainly, the job structure that persisted in the fishing industry was reminiscent of an older, more personalized style that existed in many industries before the Civil War. While there were still pockets of resistance to "modern management techniques" well into the twentieth century, they were increasingly few and far between. When companies found new technologies to displace skilled labor, and/or introduced efficiency experts and corporate hierarchies, they increased the gap between owners and workers by diminishing the areas of common interest between them. In the fishing industry, this didn't happen until the introduction of the steam trawler, and even then, the process was gradual.

Like skilled workers in other industries, fishermen talked of living by an "unwritten law" that everyone accepted but no one discussed—a man pulled his own weight, no arguments, and no complaints. One did what had to be done without being told.⁴ In Gloucester and Essex, folks at all levels seemed to live by this same "law."

Perhaps something of the old New England work ethic infected those affiliated with the region's oldest industry. No doubt the size of Gloucester and Essex, where nearly everyone knew each other and engaged in similar pursuits, contributed to a shared perspective. Whatever the reason, people in Essex and Gloucester went at life the same way.

Arthur D. Story, one of Essex's most successful ship builders, for example, ran his yard much like a fishing captain would his schooner. As his son recalled:

He was not a hard man to work for, and ran the business with as few words as possible. He didn't interfere with a man who knew his work and was doing it,



Gloucester Harbor, 1933. During the Great Depression .

asking only a good day's work for a day's pay. There was not a time, however, even though he didn't say much, that he was not aware of just what every man was doing. He held the theory... that he should only have to tell a man once what he wanted done.⁵

The rewards for conforming to dominant community values were obvious. Americans as well as immigrants from the Canadian maritime provinces, Scandinavia, Ireland, and the Portuguese Azores often became captains and business leaders in Gloucester. Unlike their counterparts who found work in New England's textile mills and shoe factories, these immigrants brought skills with them from the old country that were readily marketable in the fisheries. The Irish of Fingal Coast had long experience in fishing and its related businesses before coming to the United States. Likewise, Nova Scotians, Newfoundlanders, Azoreans, and Scandinavians had been fishermen for generations before immigrating.

Because of a shortage of American labor after 1850, skilled immigrants filled a real need in the fisheries. For a variety of reasons, including an unwillingness by American fathers to let their sons go fishing, an increased availability of public education, and a rise in industrial jobs, only 58% of Massachusetts fishermen in 1885 had been born in the United States. By 1890, 53% of New England's fishermen were British provincials or Canadians, 20% were Scandinavians, 15% were native-born Americans, and 2% were Portuguese.⁶

Some of the Portuguese rose quickly. Manuel Domingoes, for example, came to America from Pico, in the Azores, not knowing how to read or write. "All he knew," his son later recalled, "was fishing."⁷ Finding friends on "Portygee Hill," he was able to make contacts and get a site with the famed Portuguese skipper Frank Cooney, one of the fleet's highliners. Over the years, Domingoes proved himself a hard worker and an able seaman, and eventually became a schooner captain.

In 1914, after years of command, he was asked to head up United Fisheries, which had been started two years earlier by a group of Portuguese skippers and fishermen who had pooled their resources to organize a vessel supply firm. Domingoes sold his boat and ran the company until 1947, when he retired and turned the reigns over to his son. Like other Portuguese immigrants to Gloucester, his aspirations had been simple — to own a home and provide for his family. Becoming one of the city's leading businessmen was an unexpected fringe benefit.

Joe Mesquita, another Azorean, became one of Gloucester's leading citizens.⁸ As much as he assimilated though, he saw himself as a leader of the Portuguese community. When a newly arrived immigrant needed a job, Mesquita found him a site. When community and civic organizations in Gloucester needed the help or cooperation of the folks up on "Portygee Hill," they saw Mesquita first.

Mesquita, and other Portuguese captains like him, helped build bridges within the ethnically diverse community, not only by assimilating, but also by proving their strength and competency as fishermen, businessmen, and citizens. In a profile of Captain Manuel F. Foderick in the *Atlantic Fisherman*, Captain Charlton L. Smith observed:

A "PORTYGEE" is a natural born fisherman. Indeed, many who are in the know... claim that he is not equaled at that arduous calling by the men of any other race. From personal observation and from inquiries made during the last 40 years or so, I am inclined to rate him in the superlative degree. With him fishing is beyond a trade — it is, more nearly, an art.... The thrift, honor and good citizenship of these adopted sons is common knowledge to any who have visited much or have lived at our fishing ports.⁹

Nor were the Portuguese the only ones to leave their mark on Gloucester. The vast majority of the city's fishermen and schooner captains were from Nova Scotia and Newfound-



Gloucester Harbor, October 1927.

land. Sol Jacobs, the so-called "King of the Mackerel Seiners," was born in Twillingate, Newfoundland. Marty Welsh, who won the first *Halifax Herald* series in 1920, was a native of Digby County, Nova Scotia. Alden Geele, who reportedly landed more big trips of salt fish than any other skipper in history, hailed from Shelburne, Nova Scotia.¹⁰

Because they brought a skill that was readily transferable to the American fishing industry, the so-called "white washed Yankees" of the Maritimes were able to assimilate into American culture without major adaptation of their old country folkways. Unlike other ethnic groups who had to confront the harsh realities of urban industrial America, the Nova Scotians found life in Gloucester little different from what they had left behind, save for greater economic opportunity. Because of the mobility implicit in their jobs, moreover, their ties to home remained stronger than those of most other immigrants who were denied regular

physical contact with folks in the old country.

Men like Mesquita, Welsh, Jacobs, and the other ethnic skippers succeeded in New England's fisheries because they were able to assimilate into its culture. Their background made it easy at a time when a labor shortage necessitated their presence. Their values, attitudes, and expectations dovetailed nicely with those of the dominant Yankee culture, while the shared interest in a big catch promoted by the shares system encouraged their acceptance and, in many cases, their upward mobility.

Gloucester's self-made men had their feet in two worlds. They were at ease talking to bankers as well as fishermen, not only because they had to be successful, but also because their experience transcended both realities. If master mariners were highly skilled workers, many were also businessmen.

Since Gloucester was a small town, its business community was small and interconnected. Businessmen were expected to be

leaders, with a sense of responsibility for, and understanding of, community expectations and values. It is of course true that few if any fishing captains were invited out to affluent Eastern Point, where John J. Pew and Nathaniel Gorton built sprawling homes, and where it was possible to hobnob with the likes of Henry Clark Rouse, the railroad tycoon and yachtsman. Certainly, it is doubtful if Benjamin A. Smith, who later headed up Gorton-Pew, ever asked members of the Master Mariners Association to join his wealthy friends for an outing aboard his yacht. However, in their work-a-day world, Gorton, Pew, and Smith had to deal with Marty Welsh, Manuel Domingoes, and all the rest.

The common bond between classes in Gloucester was clearly the water. It was where people made their living, but it was also where they had fun. Until at least the late nineteenth century, it was common throughout the United States for working people to organize "yacht clubs" to race all manner of small watercraft. Amateur yachtsmen, professional watermen, hired captains and crews, mixed with bricklayers, carpenters, and salesmen with a minimum of rules to spoil the fun.

In 1896 the East Gloucester Yacht Club was organized, continuing the tradition of what one researcher has termed "blue collar yachting."¹¹ Boat builder and motor mechanic Percy Wheeler, Captain Albert Gosbee, a carpenter and the Humane Society's lifesaving chief, and Freeman H. Brown, a fish skinner, were the club's chief organizers.¹²

Wheeler was elected commodore and Gosbee vice commodore. Archibald Fenton, boat-builder and designer, was designated fleet captain, and Scott Call, a sparmaker, was elected secretary. Other founding members included carriage maker and shipsmith Alex McCurdy, policeman John G. Mehlman, woodworker Joseph Merchant, mason Sidney Pomoroy, carpenters Horace Sargent and Melvin Haskell, and J. Warren Wonson, Deputy Collector of Customs. The club's headquarters was the old fish house on Wonson Wharf at Smoky Point.

Club-sponsored events were simple and fun. The first official cruise ended at Plum Island with a clam bake. Evening sails and cruises lasting anywhere from three days to two weeks supplemented regularly scheduled regattas. The annual Chowder Race ended each season, with Officer Mehlman whipping up large helpings of his famous fish chowder and steamed clams.

With an initiation fee of one dollar, and annual dues of two, club membership was open to anyone with an interest in boats. By 1900 the club had fifty members, a curious mix of local working men, wealthy East Point residents, their children, and summer people.

None of this is to suggest that Gloucester was some sort of working class utopia. It was not. Fishermen had their own culture, and its rougher aspects were often an affront to polite society. Indeed, while bridges existed between classes and ethnic groups, they didn't preclude occasional animosity and misunderstandings. For someone who had never been to sea, or survived the rigors of fishing from a dory, it was difficult to appreciate the fishermen's need to blow off steam when they came ashore.

The time of greatest concern was when a large portion of the fleet was in. Then, it was not uncommon for two or three hundred schooners to be in port, unleashing hundreds of crewmen on the city. Each man sought his own diversion. One local resident recalled, "Gloucester made Dodge City in the days of the Old West look tame."¹³ A man could get drunk at any number of saloons. From there he might wander over to Rogers or Hancock Streets, or maybe head down to the Old Harbor Wharf. As one old captain recalled, "Every house down along here was a whore house.... [They'd] call you right in, call you off the streets!"¹⁴

A freshly paid fisherman after a good trip might have over a hundred dollars in his pocket, making him easy pickings for the denizens of these establishments. Raymond McFarland remembered one time, after the crew of the *Yosemite* received its shares, that a shipmate named Peavers disappeared into "Martha's Joint," never to be heard from again. With the vessel ready to cast off, he was nowhere to be found. When one of the crew told the captain



Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1933.

where he'd last been seen, the skipper put the man's duffel ashore and went looking for a replacement.¹⁵

Such behavior appalled Gloucester's pious, and kept its police force busy. If a fisherman were arrested, it was worth noting his profession in the paper, although occupation seemed irrelevant when listing other lawbreakers. This attitude reflected a general assumption that fishermen ashore tended to be troublemakers, and needed to be controlled. Sweeps of the waterfront filled the city's jail on a fairly regular basis, confirming the assumption. Usually the fishermen were drunk and disorderly, though occasionally, more serious crimes were involved.¹⁶

Confronted with such realities, civic leaders felt an obligation to do something to redeem the wayward fishermen who frequented their port. For many of the more devout, the fishermen were simply lost souls, far from home and easily tempted by the dens of iniquity down on

the waterfront.

In the late 1880s, periodic letters to the editor of the *Gloucester Times* extolled the advantages of creating a "fishermen's clubhouse" as a means of promoting temperance. By giving the fishermen someplace to go, and creating a home away from home for those transients from other ports, such a club would keep sailors from going astray. As one letter writer calling himself "Moral Suasion" concluded, "[L]et us reflect upon the good we all may do by a single act or word. Save the fallen, make strong the weak and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Proposals called for a company of about a hundred well wishers to build or retrofit an existing building with sleeping facilities, a reading room, bowling alley, rifle gallery, bath, and canteen. Provision would be made for an orchestra and music, and for meals to be served by stewards and waiters. As the writer "Cosmopolitan" put it, "The club house should afford

opportunities for fun for those who want it and quiet for those who prefer that."

The dream came true in 1892 with the founding of the Gloucester Fishermen's Institute, just in time for the city's 250th Anniversary celebration. A veritable Who's Who of Gloucester society was behind the enterprise. Reflecting their rationale for creating the Institute, the Rev. Emanuel C. Charlton wrote in the Chaplain's Annual Report:

The Gloucester Fishermen's Institute... is a beacon light of hope and life for the brave men, who by their toil and daring have taken their lives in their hands, while from the ocean's depth they have provided the choicest dainties for our tables, and contributed so largely towards the wealth of our city.

The wise, careful and liberal maintenance of this work will be an undisputable evidence that the folks at home care for the men that toil for them on the sea, and that the Christians, philanthropists, and humanitarians are as wise, prudent, earnest and determined to bless and save the toilers of the deep, as the saloonists, landsharks, and harpies, who systematically, zealously and effectively work without cessation to rob, blast, and destroy them.

This work necessitated making "numerous calls, sometimes in houses of vice and degradation, where no minister or Christian worker has ever entered," reported Charlton in 1894. In an effort to be "the confidential friend of the young and innocent, a loving brother to the erring wanderer, a faithful counselor to those in trouble, a friend to sinners," the chaplain visited the police station each and every Sunday morning.

By 1896 the work continued apace. Pressure from community leaders involved with the Fishermen's Institute led to prohibition and a report of "moral improvement" among the fishermen. In reality, anyone who wanted a

drink knew where to find it, usually at one of the "recreation parlors" down on Front Street.

If some of the middle class morality seemed out of place in the rough and tumble world of the fishermen, the Institute still met a need along the waterfront, and so gained friends among the fishermen. Supported by generous donations from summer boarders as well as local residents, the Fishermen's Institute provided nourishing food and snacks, a well stocked reading room, a navigation school, and regular religious services. It also served as a place to write letters and receive mail. In only its second year, over 100,000 fishermen visited the Institute, and by 1895 the chaplain complained, "We have entirely outgrown our present quarters, and must make speedy provisions for enlarging our borders."¹⁷

Such success speaks volumes. Even with their tendency to moralize and preach, and their inability to understand the fishermen's penchant for drinking, supporters of the Fishermen's Institute appreciated enough of the fishermen's condition to develop viable programs to serve them. The community dynamics that brought classes and ethnic groups together so regularly no doubt did much for the Institute's ability to bridge the gap between its wealthy and middle class patrons and the fishermen.

It also allowed fishermen to perpetuate their traditions long after any practical concern for dollars and cents would have dictated. By 1920, technology, corporate structures, and new labor systems were undermining the primacy of Gloucester's working class culture. However, as in Gutman's towns, a tradition of cross-class sympathy brought elites and fishermen together to resist the onslaught.

The most interesting manifestation of this phenomenon was the *Halifax Herald* series for the Championship of the North Atlantic Fishing Fleet. Pitting the best sailing schooners from America and Canada against each other, the on-again, off-again races captured public attention and enthusiasm through the 1920s and into the 1930s because they were billed as working class sport, a throwback to an earlier, simpler, time.

As they had with other events involving "their fishermen," Gloucester's politicians,

businessmen, and community leaders rallied around the notion that the *Halifax Herald* series would be “a demonstration that the age of sail is not ended.” They publicized the races, contributed large sums of money to building racing schooners, and expected success. After all, it meant new business and tourism.

For their part, fishermen were lionized in the popular press as living incarnations of the “Captains Courageous.” While no doubt flattering, and certainly good newspaper copy, such hype bastardized the very working class culture it sought to glorify.

Monied interests, with only a vague understanding of the fishermen and their ways, initiated the idea of international racing, controlled the key committees governing its conduct, and organized syndicates to field contenders. Though representatives of the Master Mariners sat on race committees and participated in partnerships to build racers, changing technologies had condemned the sailing fishermen to the same fate as their counterparts in other industries.

The fishermen’s victimization, however, was subtler and definitely less intentional than it had been for workers in large cities dominated by the smokestack industries. While workers in less exotic industries watched their traditional folkways swept away with hardly a notice from mainstream American culture, fishermen became romanticized caricatures of themselves as they tried to conform to popular expectations about sportsmanship and patriotism.

That they were not able to, and that polite society often took offense at their lack of good form, pointed up the limitations of cross-class sympathy. The economic bonds that had brought classes together in Gloucester were being shattered by new technologies, and in

their place all that remained was a vaguely defined common interest in boats and the water. The problem was that for the middle and upper classes, that interest was simply an expression of a broader fascination with sports, something community leaders hoped to cash in on. For the schooner captains, though, it was a way to continue practicing their craft in the face of obsolescence.

Indeed, if someone was willing to construct a high-quality schooner for them, fishing skipper were not going to argue. It was the only way for men who were still committed to sail to have an all-sail vessel built for them. Fishing companies were either building auxiliaries or, by the mid-1920s, investing in diesel-powered draggers and trawlers. The trade-off for the fishing captains was giving up control to men with little or no vested interest in the fisheries—yachtsmen and sportsmen with a desire to win the *Halifax Herald* Trophy. In the short run it seemed like a small enough price to pay.

The romanticism that surrounded the public fascination with the international races was a form of anti-industrialism, and reinforced longstanding traditions of cross-class partnerships in Gloucester. However, it was hardly enough to stem the tide of change. In the end, the working class culture that had defined Gloucester for generations was swept away and replaced by a sanitized version of itself that was more suited to the tourist trade that community leaders wanted to attract during the 1920s. The ultimate irony was that the mass culture that corporate elites had created combined with Gloucester’s working class appeal to obliterate the fishermen’s folkways just as completely as had happened to working class culture elsewhere.

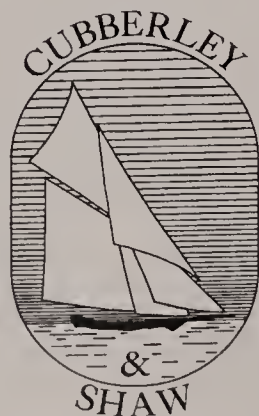


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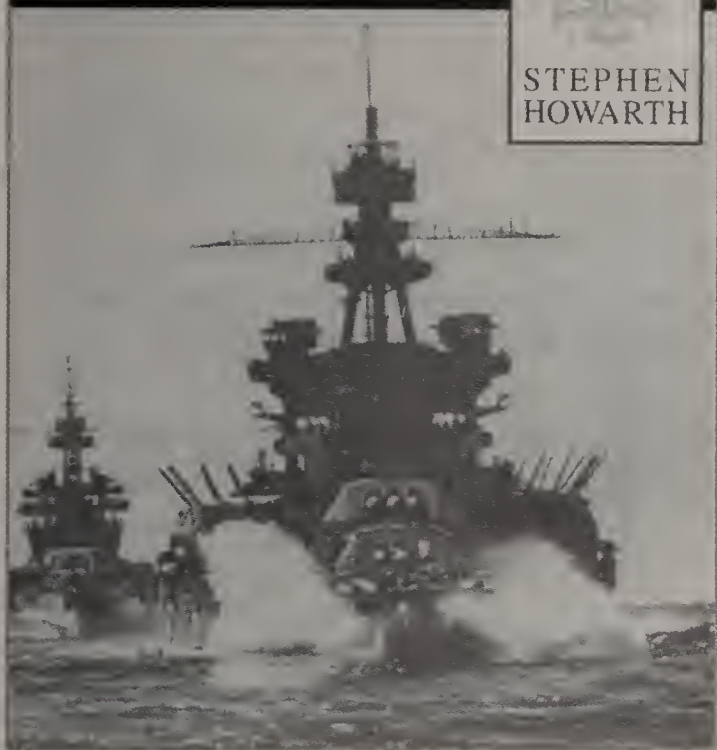
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THE MYSTERY OF THE DISAPPEARING PURSERS' TYPISTS

JO STANLEY

When the sounds of the Charleston floated over the Mersey and the Hudson, and flappers in the thousands traipsed up gangways to New York, there were four golden summers for "lady typists" working for the Cunard shipping line in England. From 1926 to 1929 over a hundred women who usually pounded their Remingtons and Underwoods in the company's white palace at Liverpool's Pier Head packed their frocks for twenty-one days. They typed their way across the Atlantic in pursers' offices, devoured Broadway shows and the contents of Manhattan stores, sailed back refreshed — and got paid for the pleasure, by one of the biggest shipping lines in the world.

Among the first of this batch was Miss Woodworth, who worked on the 19,730-ton *Scythia* and the 45,647-ton *Aquitania*. The only

remaining historical fragment about her is found in the Cunard house magazine. A photograph shows this Christmas Draw Committee member as young and personable with bobbed hair,¹ rather than elderly and even forbidding, as stewardesses typically were.

And what was a purser's office like as workplace? The purser, said the house magazine *Cunard* in 1920, "lives surrounded by log books, discharge books, articles, insurance cards, passports, tickets, timetables, passenger returns, cargo and passenger manifests, alien lists, deck chair, rug, library and bar returns, bulletins, Marconi grams, cable returns, landing cards, baggage declarations, passengers' valuables, surplus stores, wages sheets, gold, silver, copper, notes, greenbacks, nickels, dimes and dollars. And demands and queries from crew and passengers alike."²

Women typists had sailed in these busy domains as early as 1920 according to the Cunard house magazine, which pictured Miss G. Mathews sitting with her nine pursing colleagues in tropical white uniforms on the *Aquitania*,³ but these women seem to have been exceptional. Previously the only significant numbers of women aboard were stewardesses, who were very much domestic, rather than clerical, workers.

By comparison, throughout the months of July and August of 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929 Cunard women typists sailed as holiday relief in the all-male purser's department of most vessels, from the *Aquitania* to the *Aurania*. On *Berengaria*, *Aquitania*, and *Mauritania* they became permanent features year round, and they looked set to become office fixtures on smaller ships such as the *Caronia*, *Franconia*,

Jo Stanley, author of *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages* (Pandora, 1996), is Coordinator of the International Women and the Sea Network, based at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK. She is completing a book and a Ph.D. on interwar stewardesses, at QMW, University of London. She would be delighted to be contacted by people who could shed light on women's seafaring history: email jo.stanley@dial.pipex.com or Dobroyd Castle, Todmorden, West Yorkshire OL14 7JJ, UK +44 (0)1706 810 443.

I am grateful to Margaret Proctor and Adrian Allen of the Special Collections, University of Liverpool Archives for their comments on my first draft, and to Sarah Palmer of Greenwich Maritime Institute, for her views. In relation to pictures, I appreciate the generous and speedy support of the Special Collections staff at University of Liverpool Library.



The Cunard Christmas Draw for 1922 was a huge success. Above are seen the members of the committee at the drawing of numbers. Messrs. J. Swift, R. F. Mackenzie, C. J. Brooks, T. Sutherland, F. Hull, J. Allan, W. Priestman, W. H. Sullock, Misses D. L. Golding and E. Woodworth. Photograph courtesy of the Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool.

and *Carmania*. Then, suddenly, they stopped in Spring 1931 and were replaced by a new grade of pursering worker. This worker was low grade and male. His title was “seafaring clerk” and there is no doubt that he was the typist. By April 1931 every single woman had disappeared from every purser’s department of every Cunard ship. What suddenly arrested the “natural” progress of women typists from shore to ship and led to purser’s departments becoming all-male strongholds again?

The reason is a mystery. The riddle of this

Table 1. Lady typists working on Cunard vessels, in relation to the number of sailings of Cunard passenger vessels.

Year	Total number of lady typists sailing	Total number of sailings of Cunard ships
1924	2	137
1925	14	168
1926	8	171
1927	18 (+15)*	189
1928	13 (+8)*	187
1929	28	186
1930	10	185
1931	3	153
Total	96 (+23)*	1,377
Source: Derived from Purser's Records 1924–1939, D42/GM7/21/2		
*unnamed typists. These were probably women		

mysteriously brief flowering of women typists at sea arises because of a new archival finding. Three ledgers, *Allocation of Purser's Staff, 1906–1966*, have recently been deposited at the Cunard archive in Liverpool University. Cunard moved offices in Southampton. One of these ledgers, which covers the 1920s, reveals this peculiar pattern.

How many female stenographers did Cunard send to sea? In the eight-year period from 1924 to 1931 at least ninety-six and probably 119 Cunard women typists worked at sea. At the peak of this flowering, the twenty-eight women who sailed may have represented about a fifth of Cunard’s female typing staff.

Table 1 shows the marked increase in Cunard women typists going to sea, from none in 1923 to thirty-three in 1927. Women were on a sixth of the sailings at the height of this extraordinary flowering of women typists at sea, by comparison to being on a seventieth of trips in 1924.

Women typists on a voyage quickly became a common feature on some ships. By 1929, as Table 2 shows, women sailed on nearly half the voyages. This table summarizes the number of *sailings* by women typists in relation to the possible number of voyages. It is not at all the same as Table 1, the number of individual typists who sailed. One woman might make

Table 2. Sailings by women typists in relation to overall voyages per year

Year	Sailings by women typists	Overall sailings of Cunard vessels
1924	2	137
1925	19	168
1926	33	171
1927	34	189
1928	30	187
1929	81	186
1930	57	185
1931	10	153
TOTAL	266	1,376

Source: Derived from Purser's Records 1924-1939, D42/GM7/21/2

several voyages a year and, in fact, some women were routinely making twelve voyages a year. By 1926 "lady typists" had become a normal part of the pursers' departments on bigger vessels such as *Berengaria*, *Aquitania*, and *Mauritania*.

Pioneers

The very first seagoing woman typist is not named in the Allocation of Purser's Staff ledger. She sailed out on the new 19,730-ton *Laconia*, a vessel especially designed to carry up to 1,500 emigrants to New York. It was June 28, 1924. The second woman was Miss Woodworth on the *Laconia*'s sister ship, the *Scythia*, in August 1924.

The first two entries for women typists show that they were direct substitutes for the usual men doing that work: Grade J pursers, the lowest rank. For the *Laconia* on June 28, 1924, it is noted: "McPhee to *Mauritania*. Lady typist to assist for one voyage." Mr. McPhee was a Grade J purser. The remarks column in the ledger states in relation to Miss Woodworth on the *Scythia* in August 1924: "vice Carr-Hughes to *Samar-ia*."⁴ Mr. Carr-Hughes, like Mr. Mc-

Phee, was a grade J purser. From then on, the numbers of women typists built up to a peak in summer 1929.

Career patterns

There are two types of seafaring typists: those who sailed regularly on each voyage of the same vessel and those who sailed just for the summer holidays, once or twice in their career. The first category, regularly seagoing typists, became a usual part of the purser's department, seldom changing ship after their first three or four voyages. Some of the big liners such as the *Berengaria*, *Aquitania*, and *Mauritania* very quickly had one woman typist, or even two, sailing on every single trip. Table 3 shows that these regularly seagoing typists were quite rare (just three out of twenty-eight in the peak year, 1929). The women tended not to be away at Christmas, but women typists were so established on ship that when they went on holiday, they were replaced by other women, not by men. In 1930 Miss Fullerton on *Aquitania* was replaced for two voyages by Miss Periera for the January break and Miss Jardella for her August holiday.

Secondly, there were those lady typists who just did one or two trips a year, in the summer. Table 3 shows that those who made less than three trips a year were by far the most numerous. The majority of the women typists tended

Table 3: Seagoing women typists who made many voyages each year

Year	Total number of typists who sailed that year	Women typists who sailed more than three times that year	Women typists who sailed more than six times that year*
1924	2	0	0
1925	14	3	0
1926	8	5	1
1927	18 (+15)**	3	1
1928	13 (+8)**	1	1
1929	28	5	3
1930	10	5	4
1931	3	2	1
Total	96	24	11

Source: Derived from Cunard Allocation of Purser's Staff, 1924-1939. D 42/GM7/21/2.

* Unnamed typists were sailing. These were almost certainly women. This column does not exclude women in the previous column



The Purser's staff, RMS *Aquitania*. Photograph courtesy of the Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool.

particularly to sail in late July, August, and early September. Some did two trips, such as Miss Mckee on the *Ascania* in 1929, but most did just one three-week trip to New York and back. These were the traditional holiday months when a purser usually took his break and left his deputy to take over. Consequently, every member of the purser's department temporarily moved one notch up from their usual position, leaving space for the lady typist at the bottom.

Those who were allowed to go to sea are likely to have been chosen for their proven competence in the office ashore, ability to mix well and responsibly with men, and freedom from domestic ties. All bar one, Mrs. Bond on the *Carmania* in 1929, were single.

Pounding a keyboard across the Atlantic was apparently a sought-after job, awarded to tried and tested company employees rather than outsiders. In 1928 the Cunard chairman's private secretary, H. J. Flewitt, wrote to a would-

be seagoing stenographer: "These posts are very rare and are nearly always filled by persons who have had some years experience in the company."⁵ Another application later that year, specifically to be a shorthand typist on the *Franconia* world cruise, received the reply: "It is not our intention that a lady should be carried in that capacity."⁶ In fact, there were three sailings by women typists on the *Franconia* that year.

Different ships, different patterns

Different ships had different policies on seagoing women typists. When there were just one or two Junior Assistant Pursers (the lowest grade) aboard, there seemed to be a woman typist. If the number of Junior Assistant Pursers was lower than that, then women did not usually sail on that ship, presumably because there was not enough work for them to do. Cunard ships had three different grades of purser's

TABLE 4: Voyages by women typists sailing on Cunard ships headed by Grade A Purser 1924–1931.
Total voyages made by the ship are shown in brackets.

Ship	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	Total
<i>Aquitania</i>	0 (14)	0 (13)	2 (13)	5 (17)	1 (14)	8 (14)	17 (15)	6 (19)	39 (119)
<i>Berengaria</i>	0 (14)	2 (16)	15 (15)	14 (14)	16 (16)	29 (15)	22 (12)	0 (10)	98 (112)
<i>Mauritania</i>	0 (7)	1 (15)	6 (13)	1 (14)	5 (12)	9 (15)	11 (13)	3 (12)	36 (101)
<i>Tyrrhenia</i>	0 (1)		0 (1)						0 (2)
Total	0 (36)	3 (44)	23 (42)	20 (45)	22 (42)	46 (44)	50 (40)	9 (41)	173 (134)

Source: Derived from Cunard Allocation of Purser's Staff, 1924–1939, D 42/GM7/21/2.

departments: those headed by Grade A pursers and comprising seven to eight staff; those headed by Grade B pursers and carrying five to six staff; and those headed by grade C pursers with two to three workers in their office.

The ships that took on women typists were the newer or larger ships (passenger capacity 1,700–2,750) headed by Grade A Purser and carrying the largest number of pursering workers. These included the *Aquitania*, *Berengaria*, and *Mauritania*. In 1929 and 1930 Purser Owen on the *Berengaria* consistently had nine male pursering staff and two women typists (usually Miss Walsh and either Miss Lace, Miss Periera or Miss Gwyneth Thomas). Table 4 shows the pattern. The number of sailings by that vessel in that year are shown in brackets. In some cases, such as the *Berengaria* in 1929, there are more typists' voyages than sailings because there were two women typists on that ship.

Vessels with smaller purser's departments (headed by Grade B pursers) tended to vary in the frequency with which they carried women typists. Usually the same woman worked on several trips, not necessarily consecutively. Miss Stansbie was frequently the typist on the

Franconia. Miss Parry was often on the *Scythia*. Table 5 shows the pattern. The *Laconia* carried more lady typists more often than any other vessel in this category.

By contrast, the smaller ships with just two or three pursering staff were much less likely to have women typists aboard, except as holiday cover. Table 6 shows that the *Ascania* and *Andania* were the most welcoming to females, carrying them for about a quarter of the 1928 and 1929 voyages.

Explanations

Why did Cunard send women typists to sea? The Cunard archive does not appear to contain a record of how the decision was made. However, women typists were almost certainly employed on ships for the same reasons that they were accepted into offices on land, as Greg Anderson's studies of office workers shows.⁷ Workers were needed and women were cheap and skilled. Cost certainly was a factor. Initially, Cunard probably arranged that the women would sail because they were inexpensive holiday substitutes for men. Although no trace of the lady typists' wage rates is currently

TABLE 5. Voyages by women typists sailing on Cunard ships headed by Grade B Purser 1924–1931. Total voyages made by the ship shown in brackets.

Ship	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	Total
<i>Carinthia</i>		1 (2)	0 (5)	0 (7)	0 (7)	0 (6)	0 (5)	0 (5)	1 (37)
<i>Carmania</i>	0 (7)	2 (9)	2 (10)	6 (9)	0 (9)	5 (7)	1 (9)	0 (4)	16 (64)
<i>Caronia</i>	0 (8)	2 (10)	0 (10)	1 (10)	1 (11)	2 (7)	1 (8)	1 (7)	8 (71)
<i>Franconia</i>	0 (5)	1 (6)	3 (6)	0 (5)	3 (6)	4 (4)	1 (5)	0 (2)	12 (39)
<i>Laconia</i>	0 (6)	1 (7)	1 (5)	4 (10)	7 (9)	3 (12)	4 (11)	0 (12)	20 (72)
<i>Lancastria</i>	0 (6)	0 (7)	0 (7)	3 (9)	2 (10)	2 (11)	1 (9)	0 (6)	8 (65)
<i>Samaria</i>	1 (6)	3 (9)	0 (11)	2 (9)	4 (8)	1 (8)	1 (9)	0 (9)	12 (69)
<i>Scythia</i>	1 (9)	3 (8)	4 (10)	5 (10)	0 (10)	2 (9)	1 (12)	0 (12)	16 (80)
<i>Tuscania</i>				2 (9)	(10)	0 (9)	1 (7)	0 (2)	3 (37)
Total	1 (47)	13 (58)	10 (64)	23 (78)	17 (80)	19 (73)	11 (75)	1 (59)	96 (534)

Source: Derived from Cunard Allocation of Purser's Staff, 1924–1939, D 42/GM7/21/2.

available in records, it is clear that they were not given equal pay with their male colleagues (as stewardesses were). The back of the record book at the Cunard archive shows men's pay for all the various pursing grades but not that for typists. This suggests that they were still seen as shore workers.

Why did it end? The policy of employing women seagoing typists must have been proven viable because until 1929 the numbers were increasing. It would be logical to expect, on looking at these early figures, that this was the start of women going to sea quite routinely as pursers. They appeared to be becoming as commonplace in the purser's department as stewardesses were in the steward's department.

In fact, seagoing women typists tailed off very sharply in 1931 when a new category of male worker took their place: "clerk." In the ledger, the new job title was written in block capitals and underlined in red. The last seagoing woman typist of this season was Miss Fullerton, on the *Aquitania*, in April 1931.

One possible explanation for the abrupt termination is the 1931 Depression. Sailings were reduced. In the 1931 calendar year Cunard voyages were down one sixth from their 1930 level: (153 from 185). General antipathy towards "women having men's jobs" may have led to women being ousted from sectors of the industry. Nevertheless the census shows that the overall number of women workers in shipping services as a whole rose between 1921 and 1931: there were 2,027 men to every hundred women in 1921, but only 2,102 a decade later.

The crucial pursers' ledger suggests that an

internal reorganization in pursers' departments of the *Berengaria*, *Mauritania*, and *Aquitania* took place at the end of the 1930–1931 financial year. The records show that pursers' departments on ships had been remarkably stable in size since at least 1924. By 1930 pursers' staff totals were not only slightly reduced but also fluctuated with every voyage.

A further mystery is that by the late 1930s lady stenographers, available for hourly hire by the passengers, emerged as a new part of the luxury service on ships that already included manicurists and masseuses. They were based in the purser's office but were there primarily for passengers, not for assisting the hotel side of the ship.

Given the current unavailability of pursers' department memoranda for the period, it seems that the only way to discover the answer to the mysterious disappearance of seagoing jobs for women typists is to seek oral testimony from pursers.

Conclusion

Why does it matter why women stopped typing at sea? The subject of women doing clerical work at sea is important within women's maritime history, because it is usually thought that before World War II women were away at sea in more traditional female capacities: as nurses, stewardesses, laundresses and beauticians. Women were not known to be in that relatively high status male enclave: the purser's department.

Secondly, the general sense about women's advent into the pursers' department is that ex-

TABLE 6. Voyages by women typists sailing on Cunard ships headed by Grade C pursers 1924–1931. Total voyages made by the ship shown in brackets.

Ship	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	Total
<i>Alaunia</i>		0 (6)	0 (2)	0 (12)	0 (11)	2 (9)	0 (9)	0 (10)	2 (59)
<i>Albania</i>	0 (4)	0 (2)							0 (6)
<i>Andania</i>	0 (7)	0 (10)	0 (9)	0 (9)	1 (12)	4 (12)	0 (10)	0 (6)	5 (75)
<i>Antonia</i>	0 (9)	2 (9)	0 (10)	0 (10)	1 (10)	3 (13)	1 (11)	0 (7)	7 (79)
<i>Ascania</i>		0 (8)	0 (11)	3 (12)	4 (10)	2 (10)	0 (10)	0 (12)	9 (73)
<i>Aurania</i>	0 (4)	0 (12)	0 (10)	1 (11)	2 (11)	2 (11)	0 (10)	0 (10)	5 (79)
<i>Ausonia</i>	0 (10)	0 (10)	0 (11)	1 (11)	1 (11)	0 (11)	0 (12)	0 (6)	2 (82)
<i>Saxonia</i>	1 (5)								1 (5)
Total	1 (44)	2 (57)	0 (51)	5 (65)	9 (65)	12 (65)	1 (62)	0 (49)	31 (458)

Source: Derived from Cunard Allocation of Pursers' Staff, 1924–1939, D 42/GM7/21/2.



Cunard's stenographic room at the Liverpool office, ca. 1920. Photograph courtesy of the Sydney Jones Library, University of Liverpool.

Wrens were taken on as "pursurettes" or "Lady Assistant Pursers" after World War II. In her autobiography *Sailors in Skirts*, Lady Assistant Purser Henriette Louise describes her post-war colleagues as "four sophisticated-looking females, one of whom languished a long cigarette holder, lending her an air of elegance."⁸ Official Cunard photographs show post-war women pursing staff as dynamic women in full naval officers' uniform, complete with two stripes.⁹ Allocation of Pursers' Staff Ledger shows that it was not World War II patterns of substitution and dilution that finally enabled women to do non-traditional female jobs at sea. Rather, women in summer frocks who were part of a womanly office culture had already entered

the pursers' department two decades earlier as part of a natural progression from typing ashore to typing at sea. Understanding why women typists suddenly stopped sailing in Spring 1931 is an important part of the jigsaw of women's work at sea.

The evidence in this Cunard pursers' record refutes yet again the stereotypes that women were not at sea, were hardly at sea, or were only at sea in female domestic roles such as stewardess. In this particular occupation and shipping line, a new breed of woman seafarer bloomed briefly as they crossed the Atlantic at their keyboards on these proud new ships, during the hot summers of the late twenties.



NOTES

1. *Cunard*, X, (1923), 11 Cunard Archive, University of Liverpool, D42/ PR5.2. All references to material from this archive will hereafter be simply referred to by number.
2. *Cunard*, V, (1920), 111, D42/ PR5.2.
3. *ibid*
4. D42/GM7/21/2, 3
5. D42/C2/6,7,8,9 Chairman's Correspondence, 20 2.28
6. D42/C/6, 7,8,9, Chairman's Correspondence, 16.2.28
7. Greg Anderson, ed., *The White Blouse Revolution*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
8. Henriette Louise, *Sailors in Skirts*, (London and New York: Regency Press, 1980).
9. See for example D42/PR2/6/2 pictures A30920 and 454.

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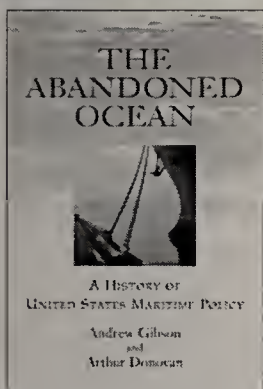
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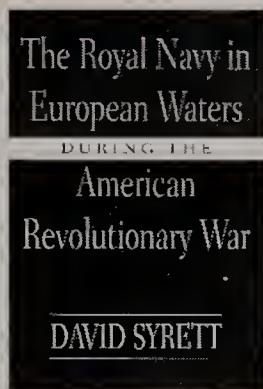
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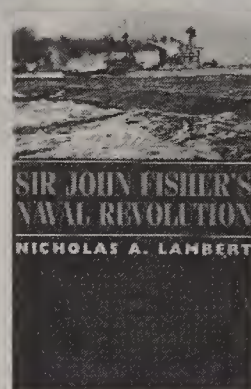
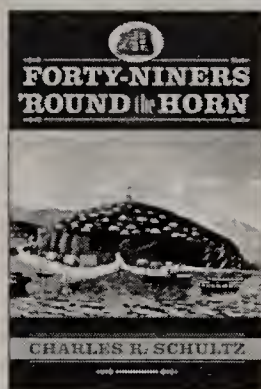


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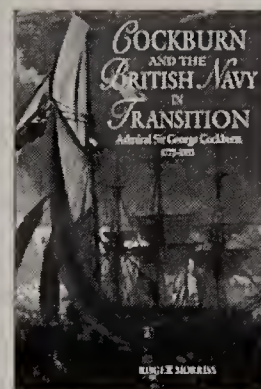


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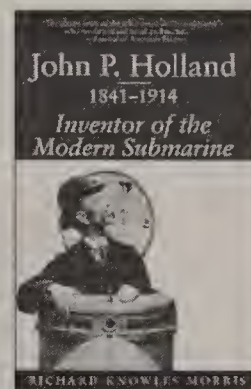
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THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CUTTING-IN PATTERN, 1798–1967

MICHAEL P. DYER

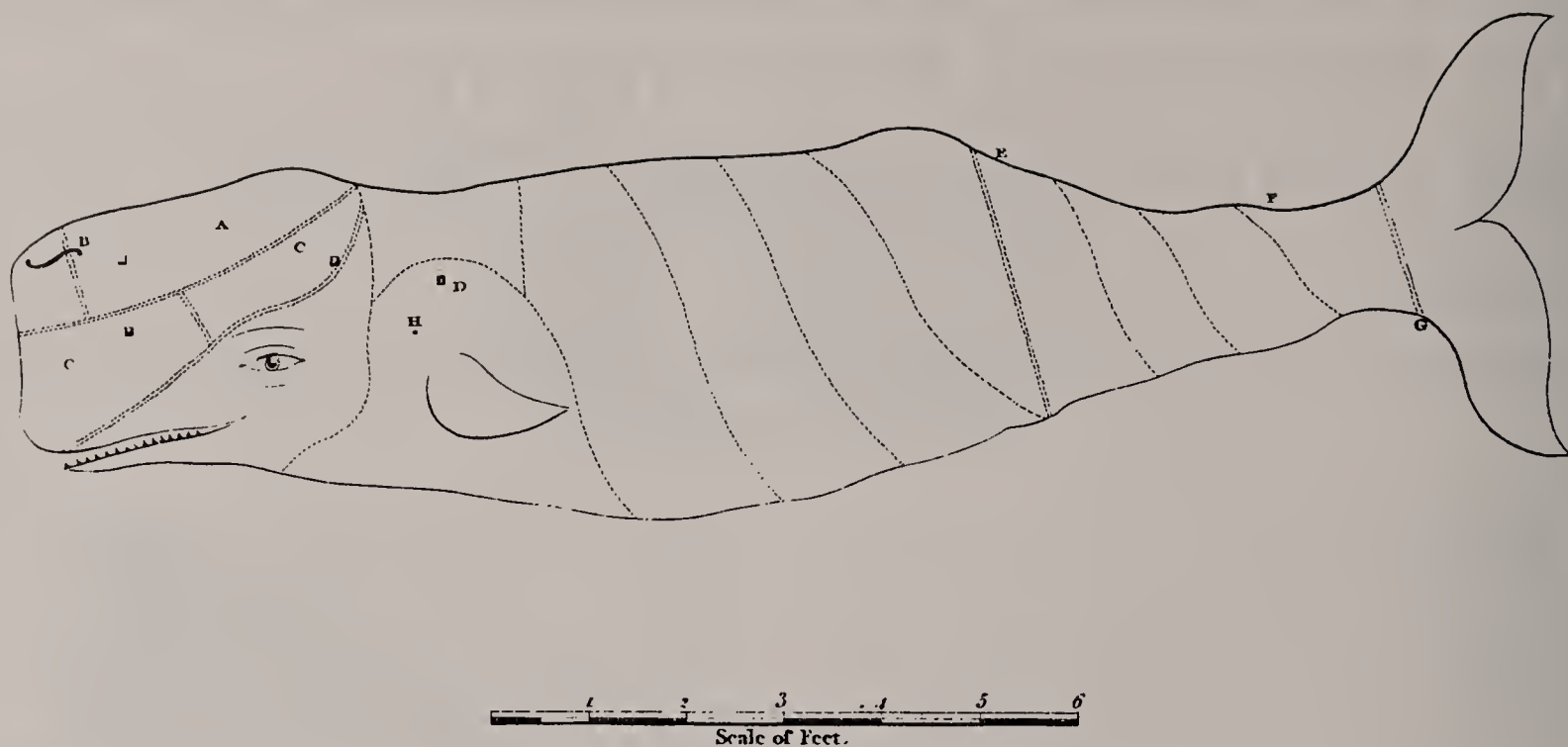
One of the many results of the American War of Independence was the need for whalers in Great Britain to develop specialized knowledge about the hunting, killing, and processing of sperm whales. Before the war, the North American colonies had provided Great Britain with the products of their sperm whale fishery, namely spermaceti candles and oil. Afterwards, much of the American whaling fleet was in disarray, the industry faced heavy import duties on sperm whale products going into Great Britain, and the American fishery went into decline. The “most consummate exertion” needed to pursue the industry had to be learned and adapted to a British fishery which hitherto had been focused mainly upon Arctic whaling.¹ This specialized knowledge came to be embodied in a type of book illustration called a “cutting-in pattern,” which was originally included in an eighteenth century British voyage narrative but which grew into a mainstream motif in whaling art and publication. While this motif was confined almost exclusively to book illustration, it provides an important example of the linear evolution and dissemination of an idea. The idea was how best to butcher a sperm whale on the high seas.

The first known of these patterns was published in 1798 in Lieutenant James Colnett, RN (1755?–1806), *A Voyage to the South Atlantic and Round Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean, for the Purpose of Extending the Spermaceti Whale Fisheries, and other Objects of Commerce...* (London, 1798). The purpose of this diagram with its associated text was to provide a detailed description of the process whereby a sperm whale is cut-in, or flensed, at sea. It is simply an outline of the whale with

dotted lines indicating where to begin the cutting, or more exactly, the scarfing (the scarf being the actual cut with the spade), of the blanket piece of blubber. This particular diagram also includes text describing how to butcher the head in order to obtain the spermaceti and how to separate the case from the junk, the head from the body, and so on.

Colnett's book was published with the specific purpose of conveying precise information to subsequent British whalers about the best places in the Eastern Pacific and the western coast of South America to obtain fresh food, wood, water, and whales. In the face of uncooperative or even hostile Spanish port authorities in these regions, there was an obvious necessity for secure ports on the coast of South America as the grounds became increasingly frequented by whalers to the South Seas.² Colnett found sufficient safe island landfalls where recruits could be obtained, and while he did not find many whales, he found enough to establish sufficient incentive for future voyages.

The book was published within ten years of the successful 1788–1790 voyage of the Samuel Enderby and Company vessel *Emilia*, the first whaler to round Cape Horn in pursuit of sperm whales. Unlike the voyages of James Cook or Lord Anson, Colnett's voyage was a business proposition undertaken in cooperation with the Crown, and not an endeavor of exploration or naval action proposed and enacted by the Admiralty. Colnett observed that the Admiralty approved of the object of the voyage, and he saw their approval as “proof of their indulgent attention to any proposal that may tend to advance the interests or extend the limits of the British commerce, or fisheries.” British laws of



Engraving. *Physeter, or Spermaceti Whale*. Drawn by Scale from one killed on the coast of Mexico, August 1793 and hoisted on Deck. From James Colnett, *A Voyage to the South Atlantic and Round Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean for the Purpose of Extending the Spermaceti Whale Fisheries* (London, 1798), following page 197. 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 9".

the 1780s stipulated heavy duties on foreign importation of oil and premiums were also offered for successful British South Sea whaling voyages.³ Toward the success of the latter, the instructional cutting-in pattern became integral with its details on how best to obtain the spermaceti head matter and how to process the blubber.

Spermaceti "burned more perfectly and more brilliantly... than common whale oil," and had hitherto been supplied to Great Britain predominantly by the American colonies.⁴ After the American Revolution, Great Britain needed to find its own sources for the valuable commodity.⁵ As Thomas Jefferson noted, the outcome of the war caused the Nantucket whalers' status to change from British colonial subjects exempt from import duties on their oil and candles, to "aliens" subject to the duty of 18 pounds, 5 shillings per ton.⁶ Thus, economic expediency enticed (Jefferson used the phrase "decoyed into their service") many Nantucket people to emigrate to England, where their expertise could be put to the best profit. Frederick Bennett, a shipboard physician in the British whale fishery, made this exact observation in 1840, writing:

The commencement of the Sperm Fishery by England found our seamen but indifferently acquainted with this peculiar mode of whaling; and for some years it was necessary to appoint an American commander and harpooner to each ship, until competent officers could be reared from our own service.⁷

Colnett was the actual commander of the *Rattler*, but throughout both the logbook of the voyage (British Library MS 30369) and the published book itself, he frequently mentions a "whaling master" on board, although he does not name him. Had this whaling master been an American (which he almost certainly was), that could go far to explain the presence of the illustration and its extensive caption. In all likelihood, the information this pattern conveys was directly representative of the American experience of pelagic sperm whaling from the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

With the publication of this image, a tradition began which was to last more than one hundred years. Cutting-in patterns came to be found in American, British, and French whaling treatises, narratives, and natural histories, but

until Thomas Beale published his pamphlet, *A Few Observations on the Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (London, 1835), Colnett's cutting-in pattern was the model most often replicated.

The first known copy after Colnett is to be found in an article by Alphonse Pellion, entitled "Notes sur la Pêche de la Baleine." Pellion was an officer aboard the *Uranie* during the 1817–1820 French expedition to Western Australia and the Pacific under Louis C. D. de Frey-chinet.

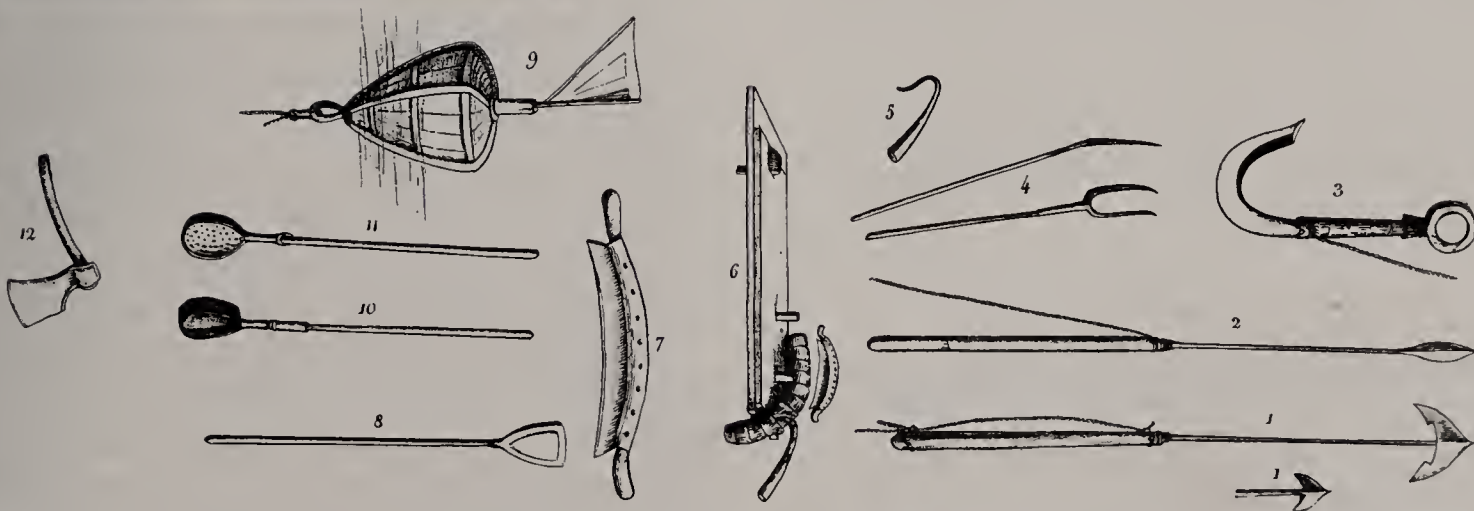
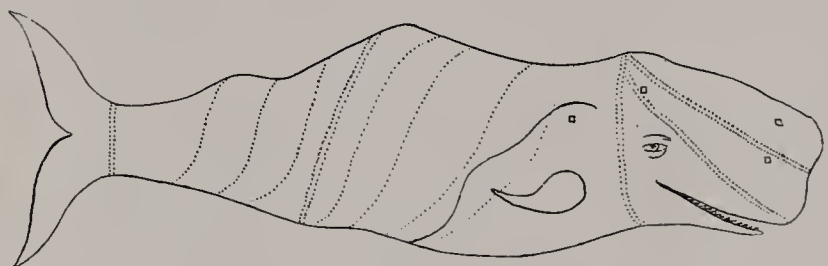
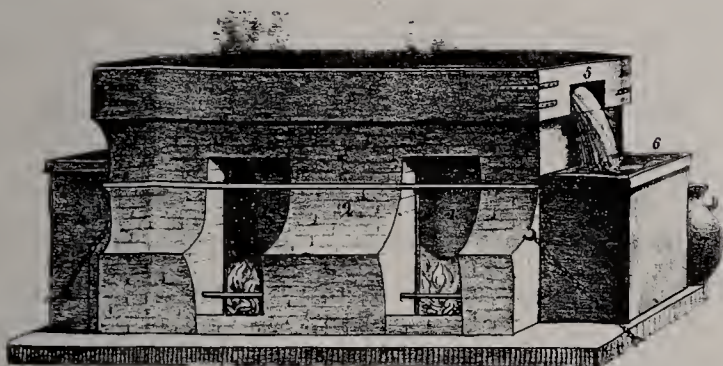
While the general outline of this example is obviously copied from Colnett, there are some important differences. In Colnett's original, double lines signify portions of the whale which are to be cut clean through. The description from his text reads:

E. a large lump of fat. F. a smaller – when the fish is flinched, or first double line and also at G. the tail being of no

value.⁸

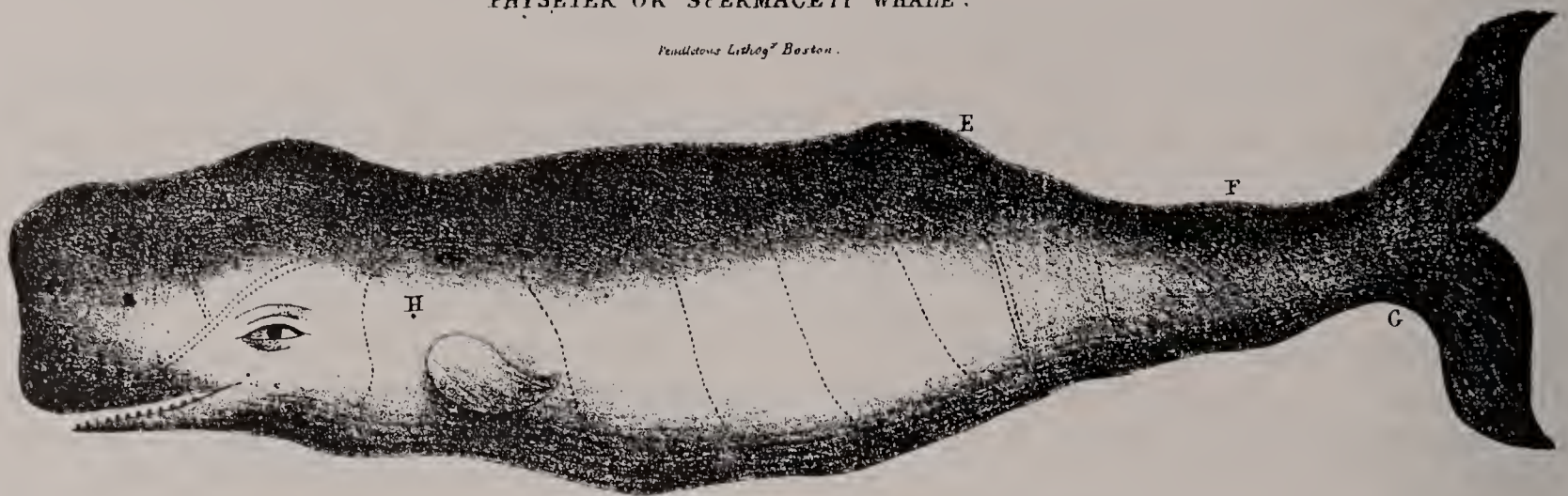
While Pellion's illustration lacks conspicuously some of the details present in the original, such as the spiracle of the whale and a variety of notations specific to the textual description from Colnett, it has one significant addition. Presuming to be done intentionally, Pellion's illustration clearly shows a double line directly behind the eye. This may represent significant evidence of the practice of completely severing the head from the body of the whale, which was often necessary if the whale was large.

Colnett's pattern indicates with double lines only the separation of the case and the junk. His description indicates that after the blubber hook had been inserted into the hole above the fin, and once the blanket piece had been "steadied in the tackles," the head would then be "divided at the lowest double line and wore astern until the fish is flinched." This is not exactly the same as severing the whole head top to bottom,



Lithograph. *Instruments pour la Pêche de la Baleine et pour la Manipulation de Ohuile*. Journal des Voyages, Cahier 88c. Février 1826. Imp. Litho. de Melle Fermentin. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The reference to "Copybook 88, February 1826" suggests that this illustration could have been executed for Joseph Paul Gaimard's manuscript "Journal du Voyage Circumnavigation," written at sea September 1817 to June 1819 and continued in the form of loose notebooks. Gaimard was the surgeon aboard the *Uranie*. The illustrations in his journal are attributed to Jacques Arago. David Forbes, ed., *Pacific Voyages and Exploration from the Carlsmith Collection and Other Sources* (Sydney: Horden House, 1987), 122–125.

PHYSETER OR SPERMACETI WHALE.

Pendleton Lithog^r Boston.

Lithograph. *Physeter or Spermaceti Whale*, by William S. Pendleton, 121 Washington Street, Boston. From Obed Macy, *The History of Nantucket* (Boston: Gray, 1835), opposite 223. After Colnett. Sheet size, 7" x 4½". *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, vol. 3 (May 1838), published this image with the following introduction: "The above figure of a sperm whale we copy from 'Macy's History of Nantucket,' where we find it copied from 'Captain James Colnett's Voyage to the South Atlantic and Pacific Ocean.'" The article then goes on to include the text verbatim from Macy.

hence, the importance of published cutting-in patterns. The picture itself came to be adapted, customized, and employed as a progressive and definitive tool toward the improvement of techniques applied to sperm whaling, especially by whalers who were not American and did not have the same degree of experience in this type of whaling. Americans already knew how to cut in and try out sperm whales, and many manuscript references exist which prove this.

Holden Mason, captain of the Nantucket brig *Two Brothers*, for instance, recorded in the ship's log January 23, 1776:

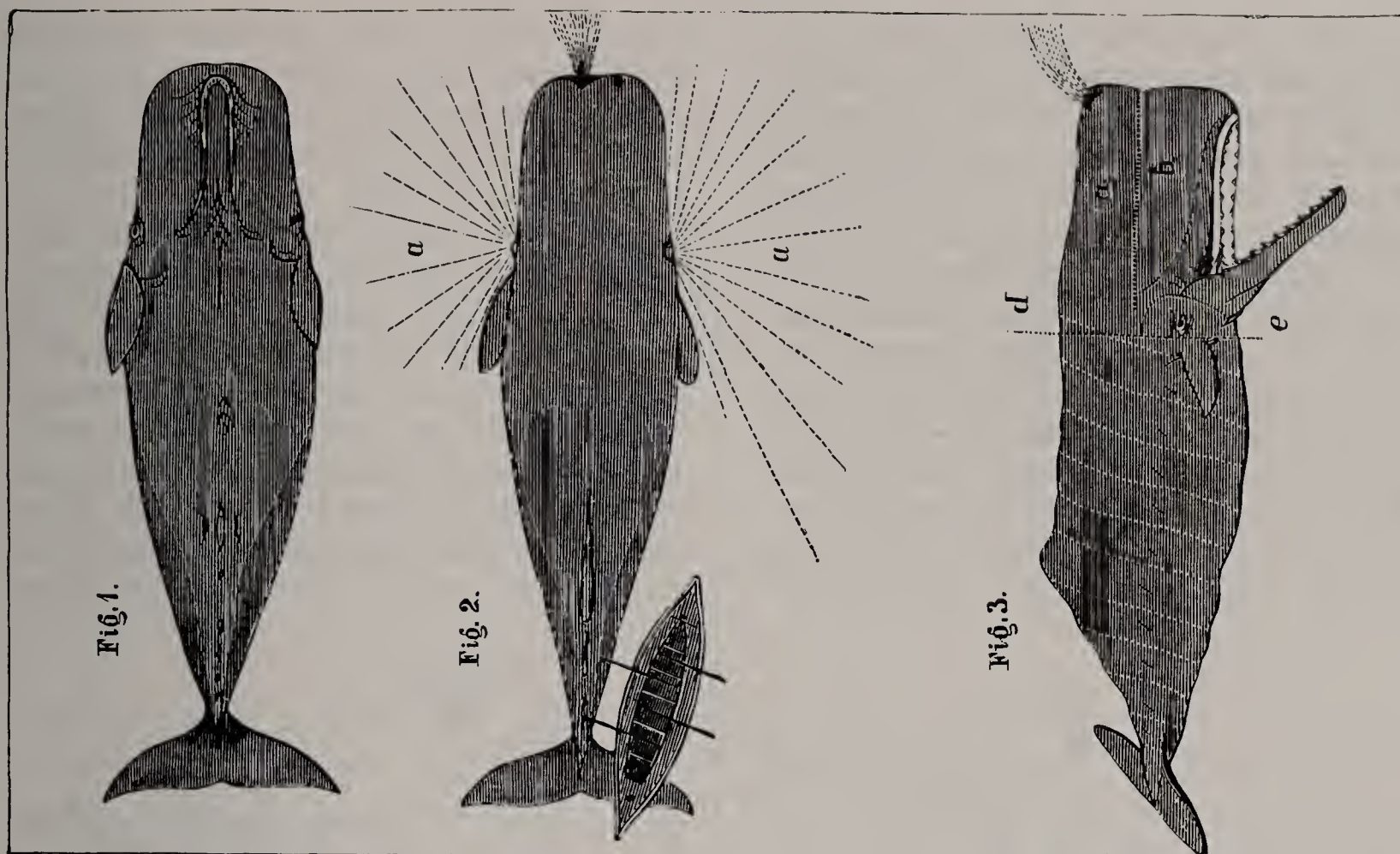
At 6 a.m. saw a school of whales — went out and killed one large whale — at 8 a.m. got her cabled — cut off her head. At 3 p.m. finished cutting the whale and began to try.⁹

Seventy-eight years later, not much had changed. Albert Curry Burrows aboard the ship *Romulus* of Mystic, Connecticut, 1851–1854, described the procedure:

The first operation of cutting-in is to get in the various parts of the head which are cut off as best as they can be with holes cut in them and the immense hook pointed in by a man who goes over on the whale for that purpose.¹⁰

These descriptions vary only slightly and can be supported by countless entries in whaling logbooks and journals. Perhaps the most important reference of all, though, is Stephen Curtis Jr.'s statement in his pamphlet, *Brief Extracts from the Journal of a Voyage Performed by the Whaleship M[ercury], of New Bedford, Mass* (Boston, 1844), where he writes: "As the operations of cutting in dead whales, has been so often described of late, it would be useless for me to attempt a description now, as it would be uninteresting." Curtis' narrative is not illustrated. His statement suggests, however, that the cutting-in operation did not vary much and probably was much the same from vessel to vessel. The Colnett pattern seems to be a reliable recapitulation of the process.

Colnett's whale was the first in a series of



OUTLINES OF SPERM-WHALE.

Engraving. *Outlines of the Sperm-Whale*. William Morris Davis, *Nimrod of the Sea; or, the American Whaleman* (New York, 1874), 168. Plate size 5¾" x 3½".

the Whale," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 12:70 (March 1856).

The importance of Harper and Brothers Publishing toward the popular dissemination of motifs in whaling illustration is paramount. From J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* in 1846 to Clifford Warren Ashley's article "The Blubber Hunters" of 1903, Harper's Publishing gave to Americans a popular perception of whaling. Of course, the same could be said for Currier and Ives, who sold lithographs based on the two prints by Ambrose Louis Garneray, "Pêche de la Baleine," and "Pêche du Cachalot," and also William John Huggins' "Northern Whale Fishery" and "South Sea Whale Fishery." However, while the average nineteenth century American had a choice whether or not to buy a print, articles in illustrated periodicals such as "The Story of the Whale" were not so easily avoided.

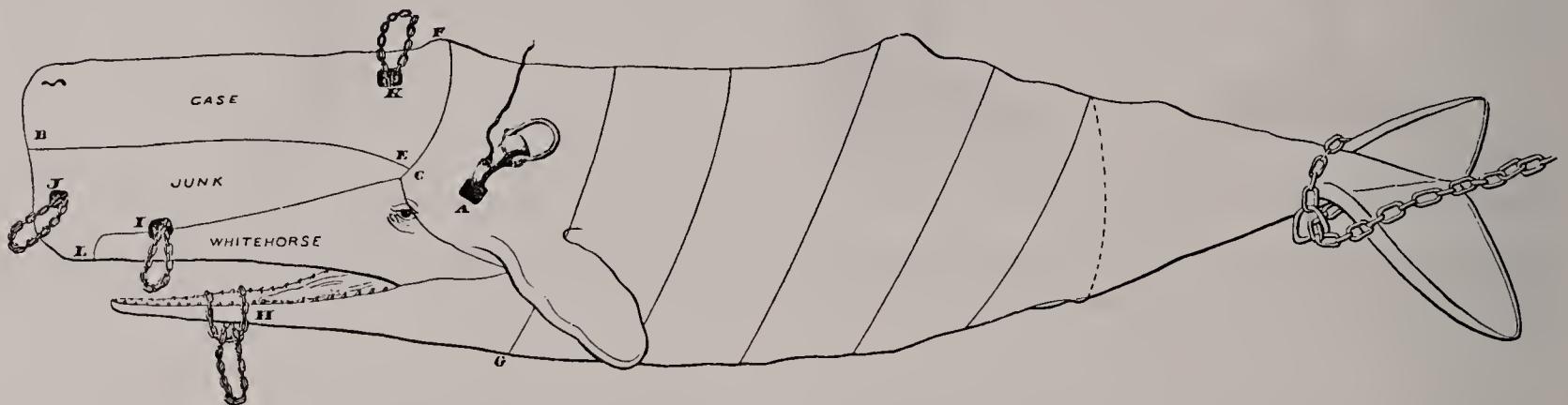
One book in particular which demonstrates clearly and exactly the inventory of Harper's whaling illustrations in 1861 is *Life and Adven-*

ture in the South Pacific (New York, 1861) by "A Roving Printer." All the "wretchedly engraved" woodcuts and wood engravings (to quote Melville's description in *Moby-Dick*) from *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, including the A. A. von Schmidt frontispiece engraving "Cutting-in and Trying Out," which Harper's engravers obviously copied, many of the wood engravings from *The Whale and His Captors*, and many of the illustrations from "The Story of the Whale," appear in this one volume. Included as the frontispiece is a copy of an America version of the Huggins print mentioned above (the American original of which is entitled *Sperm Whaling No. 2 — The Capture* by Albert van Beest and R. Swain Gifford), and several illustrations from Cheever's *Life in the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1856).

Notably, there are no new illustrations in the Harper's volume apart from the cutting-in pattern which was copied directly from Thomas Beale.¹³ An interesting feature of this pattern is the fact that the engraver who copied it from

Beale drew one of the dotted scarfing lines through the whale's fin instead of behind it. This detail was not part of the original Beale illustration. It probably serves as enough of an alteration of the original to avoid copyright restrictions. In any event, its presence underscores the fact that whaling illustrations in books cannot be used as primary source material for the subject they depict without first determining, where possible, their validity. Just any illustration from a nineteenth century book will not do to document the history of American whaling activities or artifacts. Historically accurate illustrations by artists with known histories are frequent enough to place pictures

cation. Strother worked under the pseudonym Porte Crayon. His whaling illustrations first appeared in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (June 1860) article entitled "A Summer in New England," which had as its title page vignette the same frontispiece which would appear one year later in *Life and Adventure in the South Pacific*. A close examination of the two examples reveals that the frontispiece from the latter book was the same illustration but trimmed down from that of the former article. Nonetheless, a threshold had been crossed. Modern publishers began to rely less and less upon their established stocks of images and increasingly sought professional illustrators to



OUTLINE OF A SPERM WHALE, SHOWING THE MANNER OF CUTTING-IN.

Engraving. *Outline of a Sperm Whale, Showing the Manner of Cutting-in*. Charles Melville Scammon, *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America. Described and Illustrated: Together with an Account of the American Whale Fishery* (San Francisco, 1874), 237. 2" x 8¾".

in their correct historical context and time period. Furthermore, it is a notable fact that Harper's publications never once used a cutting-in pattern illustration until 1861, and the one they did use was taken directly from Beale. Olmsted's pattern appears never to have been replicated.

After *Life and Adventure in the South Pacific* was published a new line of illustrations began to appear in Harper's publications. With the exception of the drawings by David Hunter Strother (1816–1888), which would be republished later on, none of these earlier illustrations were to appear again in a Harper's publi-

provide new material. Even a cursory examination of American whaling logs reveals the fact that there were some tremendously talented artists who went whaling. Some of them went on to become noted authors and illustrators after their whaling careers ended.

With the advent of the antebellum illustrated magazines and their great proliferation the path was paved for professional illustrators like Strother, Granville Perkins, Isaac Walton Taber, and, eventually, Clement Nye Swift and Clifford Warren Ashley to create new and exciting whaling pictures for magazine and book illustrations. However, regardless of how

fresh the ideas of the artists were in the postwar decades, the cutting-in pattern remained a staple illustration for whaling-related books and narratives.

In 1874 Harper's published *Nimrod of the Sea; or, The American Whaleman* by William Morris Davis. Davis was a whaleman himself forty years earlier aboard the ship *Chelsea* of New London, 1834–1836. His book came replete with a very interesting group of illustrations. Strother's pictures were included, but so were a series of wood engravings by Granville Perkins (1830–1895). Perkins was not a whaleman himself, and his illustrations, while quaint,

He comments that "Figure 3 shows the general outline of the whale as it floats in the water; the lower jaw is dropped as in feeding or attacking a boat. The teeth and sockets are exaggerated in size necessarily. The dotted lines show the lines followed in the dissection; *a* is the case; *b* is the junk; *d* and *e* the lines of severing the head, the spiral line, and the line of the blanket cuts."

It is worth noting here that Davis believes Beale to have given "By far the most correct drawing of a sperm whale of any British author yet incorrect as representing the small as very long and slender." What Davis is referring to is

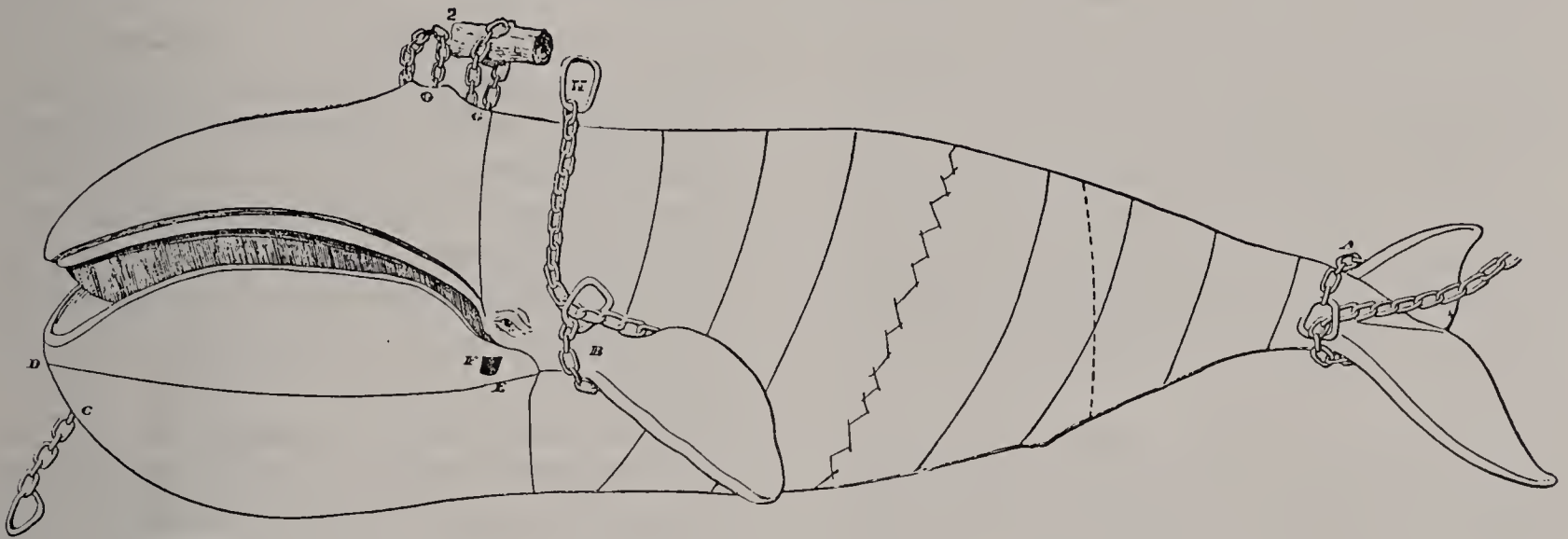


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE MANNER OF CUTTING-IN THE BOWHEAD AND RIGHT WHALE.

Engraving. *Diagram Showing the Manner of Cutting-in the Bowhead and Right Whale*. Charles M. Scammon, *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast* (San Francisco, 1874), 231. Image size 2⁷/₈" x 8⁵/₈".

seem not to be authoritative. On the other hand, Davis himself claims responsibility for the illustration of the cutting-in pattern, writing:

As a humble groper in this thorny path (he refers here to R. P. Lesson (fl. 1825–1833) who bewailed in similar words the difficulties of studying cetacea) and as one of the twenty thousand mariners who today capture and cut up whales, I present simple outlines of the form of the sperm whale.

not Beale's cutting-in pattern, but his frontispiece, "Boats Attacking Whales," which does indeed portray the sperm whale as having curiously serpent-like hind quarters. Davis avoids any mention of Beale's cutting-in pattern. He likewise avoids any mention of Olmsted at all. It is interesting and perhaps important to note that as more and more of these illustrations began appearing, their accuracy in regard to anatomical specificity increased tremendously. This could be because each artist who actually saw whales improved upon the work of his predecessor, widely disseminating

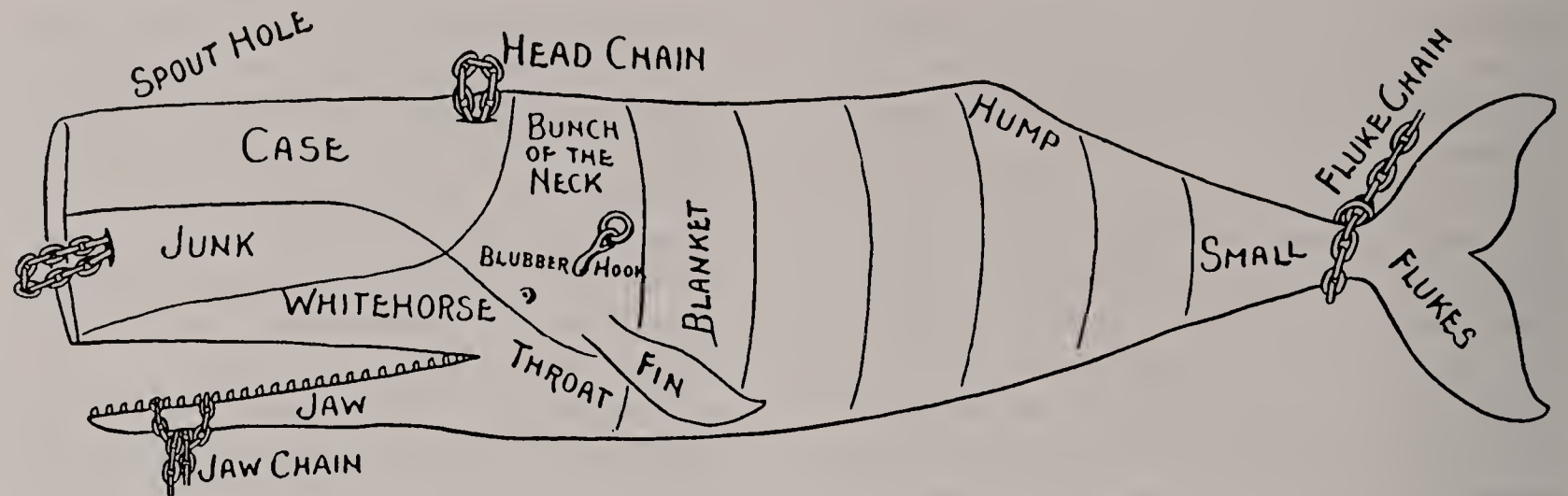


DIAGRAM SHOWING MANNER OF CUTTING A SPERM WHALE

Engraving. *Diagram Showing Manner of Cutting a Sperm Whale*. Joshua Filebrown Beane, *From Forecastle to Cabin* (New York, 1905), 35. Image size 1¾" x 5½".

the best pictures and to a certain degree eliminating the poorer ones.

Charles Melville Scammon's (1825–1911) cutting-in patterns were often replicated and became the standard by which the United States government came to understand the details of whaling technology in the late nineteenth century.

Without going into Scammon's whole biography, his one and only book, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America, Described and Illustrated: Together with an Account of the American Whale Fishery* (San Francisco, 1874), was the result of twenty years experience in the whale and sea elephant fisheries on the West Coast before the Civil War and in the Revenue Marine service during the war. After the war, he was transferred to the US Navy and commanded the fleet of the Western Union Telegraph expedition (1865–1867) which was undertaken in part to survey the natural resources of Russian America, or, as we know it today, Alaska. It was shortly after this expedition in 1867 that he began to publish his articles about sea mammals.

His whale pictures are arguably the most accurate non-photographic delineations anywhere in the nineteenth century. What his cutting-in patterns clearly indicate in detail is the manner in which whalebone whales were flensed after the style of sperm whales in the American whale fishery. Note the inclusion of

the various chains, toggles, and hooks in his illustration, much the same as seen in the Olmsted pattern thirty years earlier. Although Scammon's copy of Olmsted has yet to come to light, there are enough association copies of whaling books owned by Scammon to assume that he was well familiar with *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage*.

The spiral method of cutting in a right whale was included in a detailed description by Edmund Fanning in his book *Voyages to the South Seas, Indian and Pacific Oceans* (New York, 1838). A French engraving from 1837 by Michel Bouquet, entitled *Depeçement d'un Baleine*, shows a closeup of this same method.¹⁴ There was, of course, Ambrose Louis Garneray's famous aquatint engraving of 1835, *Pêche de la Baleine*, which has a flensing scene in the background, although it is not clear what species of whale is being flensed. Scammon was nonetheless the first to publish a cutting-in pattern illustration of a whalebone whale. In the text, he goes into detail about the differences between flensing a right whale and flensing a sperm whale, and these details are completely incorporated into the illustration.¹⁵

Why did he feel it necessary to include them at all? His is undoubtedly a serious book, and these pictures are not simply decoration. They impart exact knowledge, but that knowledge had been imparted many times by many other people, to the extent that Stephen Curtis

refused to even describe the process in his book for fear it would be uninteresting. Why were they included? Perhaps by 1874, they had become the hallmark of an authoritative narrative on sperm whaling, and Scammon was so well versed and experienced in the fishery that he was aware that such a picture had never been published and that it needed to be.

Scammon's cutting-in patterns were subsequently adopted by Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution George Browne Goode as illustrations for his two volume work *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States, Section 5, History and Methods of the Fisheries* (Washington, 1887). They appear as exact copies. Scammon's pattern of a sperm whale was also the model for a pattern which appeared in Charles Martin Newell's work of fiction, *The Voyage of the Fleetwing* (Boston, 1886). Joshua Fillebrown Beane's firsthand illustrated whaling narrative, *From Forecastle to Cabin* (New York, 1905) has a pattern reminiscent of and probably derived from, or inspired by, Scammon.

The last cutting-in pattern of note is a simple, unadorned outline of a sperm whale published in 1967 for Robert Cushman Murphy's photographic record of hand whaling, *A Dead Whale or a Stove Boat*.

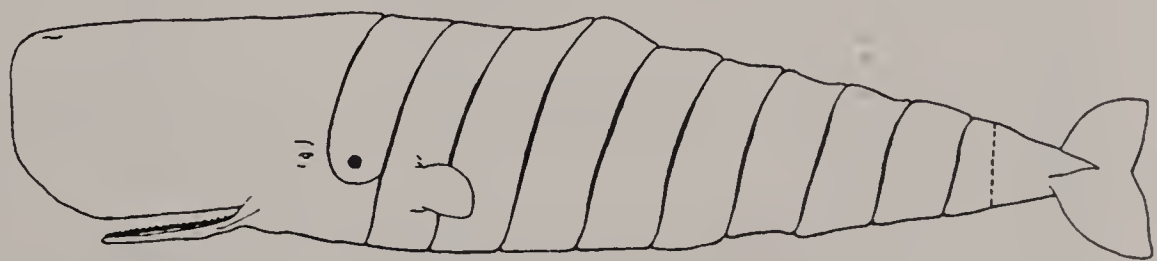
Murphy took these photographs himself when he sailed aboard the brig *Daisy* of New Bedford. Even though he recorded every aspect of the hunt with photographs, the cutting-in pattern in its most simplistic incarnation proved to be an essential component to understanding the science of how blubber is stripped from the carcass of the whale.

Book illustrations showing people butchering whales date from as far back as 1556 when Conrad Gesner published his *Historia Animalium* (Zurich, 1556). Friedrich Martens (1675), Cornelis Zordrager (1720), Antonio Reguart (1792), and textual descriptions in William Scoresby, Jr. (1820) all document a flensing proce-

dures whereby the whalers descend onto the whale and cut off large chunks of blubber which are then hoisted onboard or processed ashore. The procedure was dangerous enough in the frigid waters of the high Arctic, but the danger was compounded in shark infested waters of the tropics, where much of the sperm whale fishery was engaged. It was also an inefficient flensing procedure. Smaller crews on smaller vessels operating out of New England ports in the early eighteenth century probably found it much easier to heave at the windlass or capstan and let the weight of the carcass and the over-balanced weight of the vessel tear off the blubber for them.

The spiral process of cutting in sperm whales began to be illustrated and published in the 1790s, but more importantly, the technique must have been observed by whalers from various nations on the high seas. The Brazil Banks in the 1780s were as likely a place as any. American and British vessels together had whaled around the Brazil Banks at that time, and it was a region where sperm whales and right whales both were obtained. While there is no real supporting evidence, it is assumed that early eighteenth century Americans were cutting-in their different whale species using the spiral method. British paintings from as late as 1833 clearly depict British whalers flensing Arctic whales using the same methods depicted in book illustrations from the 1690s. Whatever techniques came to be employed in the sperm whale fishery had little effect upon their Arctic fishery.

Cutting-in patterns for right whales were



Engraving. Scarf, cut with blubber blades around the sperm whale's body.... Robert Cushman Murphy, *A Dead Whale or a Stove Boat* (Boston, 1967), 108. Image size 3/4" x 3 3/4".

not illustrated in books until Scammon drew one in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Those for sperm whales seem to have been adapted as standard and necessary illustration for just about any serious British book on the subject, and by 1835 Americans began to include them as well.¹⁶ Eventually, it became a decorative, if not formulaic, feature in many publications with its evolutionary origins in the British need to master the techniques of sperm whaling. While the need had its roots in the outcome of the American War of Independence, the proliferation of the motif and its integration into the works of fiction is not so easily determined.

Throughout the publication of whaling various illustration motifs have been used and reused in an overlapping and stratified dependency by authors and illustrators who may never have seen a whale, much less the hunt. Having once been identified, however, those motifs can then be used as references to date, authenticate, compare, and contrast a broad range of decorated and illustrated artifacts. Nineteenth century whaling scenes can be documented more easily with a good working knowledge of repeated iconographical motifs, such as these

cutting-in patterns, but by the very nature of this repetition, one can gain a better glimpse into nineteenth century whaling history.

From the earliest woodcuts in the nineteenth century American almanacs to the major mass publications later in the century, lesser quality pictures became somewhat segregated and better renditions were published frequently, sometimes as exact copies and sometimes with embellishments. Many French, British, and American publishers, artists, and engravers in the first half of the nineteenth century drew upon a finite number of books, newspapers, currency, prints, and paintings, and these motifs also appear occasionally in whalers' scrimshaw. The cutting-in pattern is simply one of several examples of whaling iconography with a traceable lineage. The lineage of this particular image can be clearly and exactly traced to its origin in 1798, and it can be ascribed a cause which was the outcome of the American Revolution and a developmental growth, which is its subsequent appearance in other books. From the latter point the deduction is implicit that people concerned in whaling actually read these books, knew what was in them, and applied it to their own involvement in the industry.



NOTES

1. J. Hector St. John, *Letters from an American Farmer* (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1782), 133.
2. "From 1775 onwards the British sent fleet after fleet on voyages ever more southward into 'the South Seas' to the Western Isles, and across the Equator into the South Atlantic." Rhys Richards, *Into the South Seas: The Southern Whale Fishery Comes of Age on the Brazil Banks, 1765 to 1812* (Wellington, N.Z.: 1994), 74.
3. The first mention of a premium paid to British vessels carrying "head matter" is in 26 George III, c. 50 (1786) *An Act for the Encouragement of the Southern Whale Fishery*; 28 George III, c. 20 (1786); 29 George III, c. 53 (1789).
4. Thomas Beale, *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale* (London: Holland Press, 1839, 1973), 128. Beale quote from William Thomas Brande, *A Manual of Chemistry* (New York: 1821).
5. Charles Enderby, *Proposal for Re-establishing the British Southern Whale Fishery* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1847), 6. Enderby writes: "The Southern Whale Fishery as conducted direct from England, dates from the year 1775, when it was established by my late father, who had carried it on extensively through agents in the United States of America, then British dependencies."
6. Julian P. Boyd, Ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 14, 8 October 1788 to 26 March 1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 242-254.
7. Frederick Debell Bennett, *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe, from the Year 1833 to 1836*, 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1840), 185.
8. The verbs *cant* and *kent*, when used in relation to the whale fishery, are specific to the flensing process and mean "turn the animal round," thence the phrase, "cant tackle" and "cant purchase." *Oxford English Dictionary*.

9. Quotation courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.
10. Quotation courtesy of the Kendall Whaling Museum.
11. Huggins' print, *South Sea Whale Fishery*, would also become the model for the 1862 lithograph by Albert van Beest, R. Swain Gifford, and Benjamin Russell, entitled *Sperm Whaling, No. 2 — The Capture*. Elizabeth Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Essex Museum, 1987), Nos. 108, 288.
12. For a more complete analysis of these illustrations, see Michael P. Dyer, "An Interpretive analysis of Illustrations in American Whaling Narratives, 1836–1927," *New England Journal of History* 53:1 (Spring 1996), 57–77.
13. For another example of Beale's pattern, see John Sterling Kingsley, *The Standard Natural History, Vol. 5, Mammals* (Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1884), 209.
14. Ingalls, *Whaling Prints in the Francis B. Lothrop Collection*, No. 193.
15. A careful analysis of the pictures and text of European Arctic whaling and their ancient methods used to flense whalebone whales shows a clear distinction between the spiral method of cutting-in adopted by Americans in the sperm whale fishery and the procedure of passing blubber aboard in chunks, which had been previously employed by Europeans in the Arctic.
16. One notable exception to this is Bennett's *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage*. While he gives a detailed description of the cutting-in, he includes no technical illustrations. His only whale picture is a wood engraving of a beached sperm whale which shows elements similar to Jardine's beached sperm whale, but not enough to show any clear derivation. Bennett's whale appears original.



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THE HISTORY OF CAPE COD SHIPBUILDING CO.



Myron and Charles Gurney of Wareham, Massachusetts, built wagons for Tremont Nail and other established Wareham companies. When the rubber tire was invented, the Gurney brothers looked to other manufacturing ideas. With a plant right on the Wareham River, Myron and Charles occasionally built small skiffs for their own recreation. When an offer was made to buy one of their boats, they could not part with it, but offered to build one just like it. In 1899 the Gurney brothers named their newly founded company Cape Cod Power Dory Co. and built several designs of wooden sailboats and skiffs. Charles did the drafting and designing, his most famous design being the Cape Cod Knockabout. They also built lifeboats and, as their reputation grew, they built the *Saltaire* 80' launch, which weighed 60 tons. The entire town of Wareham celebrated the event the day she was launched, as Mrs. Gurney christened the *Saltaire* into the Wareham River.

In 1919 the Narrows Bridge was constructed, closing the Cape Cod Power Dory Co. off from Buzzards Bay. At the same time, Cape Cod Power Dory Co. changed its name to Cape Cod Shipbuilding Corporation, and then moved to the other side of Narrows Bridge. The land was known as Idlewild, which was part of the William Minot Estate. This property had been reserved for Mrs. Minot, whose hobby was to travel and bring back clippings to be planted on

the property. Even today, some of the shrubs and trees are not what you would typically find on New England soil.

Part of running a boatyard means being frugal: buildings were constructed with windows and doors from buildings in the center of town, making some of the present plant over one hundred years old. Then and even today. With more land, the buildings could be spread out, making it safer to store lumber and existing boats apart in case of fire. Lumber was stored separately from the mill where it was cut. There was a separate building for assembly, another for painting and still another for the showroom. The office was sited so as to have an overview of the plant.

Boats built during this time were wooden pleasure and some commercial boats. Skilled labor was hired and the company's reputation grew. They built wooden boats upside down, which assured better quality. With the ability to do their own milling, large pieces of lumber could be purchased, and not a scrap went to waste.

With the death of Captain Charles S. Gurney, the management went to G. S. Williams. At this time E. L. Goodwin was the president of Undercliff Boat Works in New Jersey and a dealer of Cape Cod boats. Les Goodwin noticed the quality had changed after the death of Captain Gurney and came to Wareham for a

visit.

In 1939 the shipyard, under poor management for some time, was purchased by E. L. Goodwin. He and his wife Audrey moved to live in the office and run the company. The only employee at the time was Jack Daphney, the rigger. Les's goal was to hire well known designers to design pretty boats, unlike the Gurneys, who had done both the designing and the building. E. L. preferred to build new designs to the best of his ability, instead of sticking to the Gurney designs. At this time, the Philip Rhodes designed *Rhodes-18* and Sparkman & Stephens designed *Mercury* were both purchased and built successfully out of wood.

The production shifted gears for World War II, as the company built small war tugs, smoke boats, and launches. Les traveled to Washington to receive contracts with the criteria that the boats had to draw 15' or less, due to the depth of the Wareham River. Others took on contracts to build larger ships, but were unable to recover after the war. The assembly line was set up to build 1½ 40' tugs a week. Building #6 built one boat a week, and building #20 built one boat every two weeks. Les had gone from one employee to over one hundred!

E. L. Goodwin could be described as a "jack of all trades." He enjoyed being a businessman, a sailor, a farmer, a sawyer, and a steam engineer. The company had sold the steam engine just before E. L. took over. This upset him because he had his steam engineer's license. The company did use the boilers to create energy and heat for boat building and steam bending. In the winter, wood chips and coal were used to operate the boilers. This gave them the opportunity to buy raw wood and mill it on the property. Les also invented the procedure to press four pieces of wood into a hollow sailboat mast with the use of water pressure.

During a three-year period of the war, the yard was leased to National Fireworks and was called Wareham Shipyards. This was done to give the company better buying power.

On one of his trips to the Pentagon to negotiate a contract, Les learned that contracts for fiberglass military boats were in the future. In 1947 he worked with Mr. Bell of American

Cianid in New York to build fiberglass products. The first boat Cape Cod Shipbuilding built was a model. Production began in the basement of the office. Anyone who has ever been in a fiberglass production room knows why the office staff bitterly complained.

As the war ended, Les knew that the way to continue to stay in business was to convert to building fiberglass sailboats. Cape Cod Shipping Co. and the Anchorage Co. of Rhode Island were the first two manufacturers to build fiberglass boats. Among the many firsts, Cape Cod Shipbuilding Co., however, was the first to install a lead keel on the outside of a fiberglass sailboat, and also successfully to have converted the wooden *Mercury* and *Rhodes-18* from wood to fiberglass.

Many new designs were purchased from George Lawley & Co. Les also secured the rights to purchase all boats 30' and under designed by Captain Nathaniel Herreshoff, the "wizard of Bristol." With Cape Cod's acquisition of the exclusive rights in 1947 came the Herreshoff construction records. Categorizing all his designs was overwhelming. A few designs were preserved in-house in order to begin building. The remaining plans were brought to MIT for proper restoration. Thirty-five wood Bulls' Eyes (now known as H-12½) were built by Cape Cod under the direction of a foreman formerly employed by Herreshoff. This production run supplied the demand for replacements in existing racing fleets over a period of years.

Popularity of fiberglass boats at this time began to make inroads into demand for new wood construction. E. L. perfected the method of binding fiberglass deck and hull so the boat would come out of the mold in one piece. This allowed for a stronger, leak-proof boat. The procedure was highly secret, and a new room with a low ceiling was created not only to keep a constant temperature for curing resin, but also to keep people out. Other builders were having trouble building in drafty mills. Cape Cod had created the first fiberglass molding room and E. L. was trying to protect his newly acquired technique.

Production began on a fiberglass model of the Fishers Island H-12½ in 1950. The Fishers

Island had a wider waterway, and a tiller that went over the stern. She was designed by Nat Herreshoff for the Fishers Island fleet as a more seaworthy version of the Bull's Eye. This new boat in fiberglass became known as the Cape Cod Bull's Eye. In the fifties, Cape Cod was building about sixty to seventy Bull's Eyes and eighty to one hundred Mercuries a year.

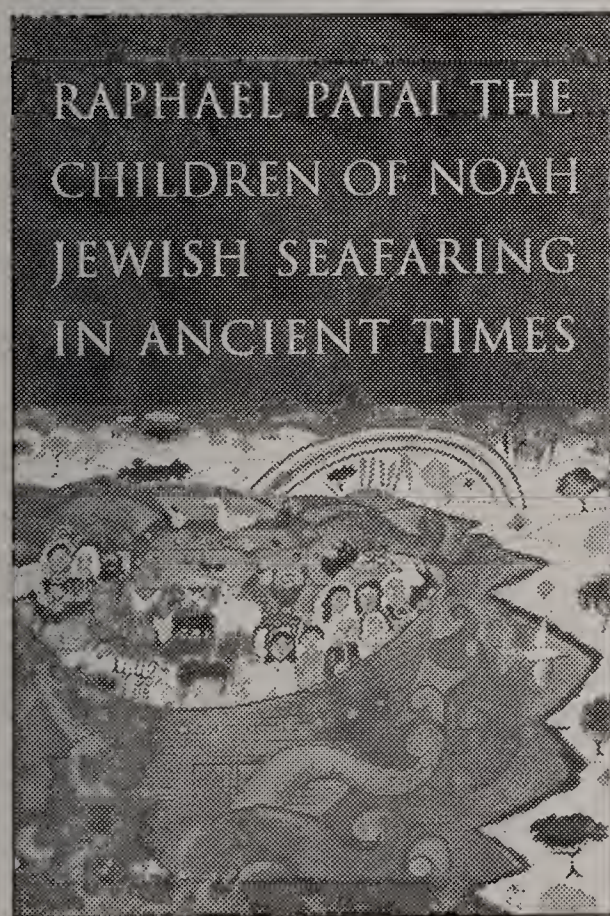
Up until this point Cape Cod was purchasing the spars for its fiberglass boats. Zephyr Spars was purchased from Alcoa, but Alcoa formed a monopoly and had to diversify. Jack Daphney was sent to purchase part of Zephyr, but came home with the entire company. All the extrusions, machinery, and tools were moved to Wareham. Currently, Zephyr is a division of Cape Cod Shipbuilding Co. and builds spars not only for Cape Cod boats, but for other boats as well.

Due to E. L. Goodwin's purchases, Cape Cod Shipbuilding Co. presently builds twenty-two models of fiberglass boats in lengths from 9'-44'. Gordon L. Goodwin (E. L. Goodwin's son) took over the presidency in 1979. Cape Cod boats were built so well that they did not

deteriorate. In the late 1980s sales of new boats had gone down substantially. To compensate, concentration on repairs and boat storage kept the company afloat. Hurricane Bob in 1991 created many repair opportunities, and the boat orders increased.

Case boats today have a traditional look with modern quality. Their sailboats are in great contrast with the mass produced, lightweight sailboats other companies build today. In his later years, Les Goodwin complained that the boats he built were not deteriorating fast enough for people to replace them. As the company statement says, "You might think we have made a mistake by building boats that are so well made, but it is that simple fact that has kept us in business for one hundred years. Our goal for the future is to encourage more people to sail, as we continue to hand down Cape Cod boats from generation to generation."

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MODELER'S NOTES

PAUL DUSTIN

THE FRIENDSHIP SLOOP WORKBOAT AND YACHT

Over the years some workboats, particularly sailing vessels, have made the transition from a purely utilitarian craft to a new life as pleasure boats. Most often, these have been small fishing vessels and pilot schooners as their smaller size made them attractive to yachtsmen. Additionally, sailors were also drawn to the capabilities which made them successful workboats to begin with: speed under sail, seaworthiness in heavy weather, and the ability to be sailed singlehanded or with small crews. However, their greatest attraction has often been their basic design and appearance, or what is today referred to as "the traditional look." It is, perhaps, for this reason that old wooden sailboats are still with us, both here and in Europe. It is noteworthy that some of them are now being produced in glass-reinforced epoxy, a construction method that eliminates much of the maintenance work associated with wooden boats.

Of all of the traditional designs which have made the transition, the most successful, at least in New England waters, has been the Friendship Sloop. This is a boat which had its origin toward the end of the nineteenth century as a local fishing boat "down east" in Maine. After her fishing career declined she was reborn as a pleasure yacht, and continues today in an expanding fleet, as old boats are reconstructed and new boats are built and launched. Each summer many of them come together for a series of local races along the New England coast, held under the auspices of the Friendship Sloop Society. The Friendship Sloop Society, established in 1961 by seven members to promote the Friendship Sloop, now sends out its newsletter to nearly three hundred readers worldwide. Roger F. Duncan describes the sloop's history, including her development, early builders, and a listing of many of the sloops, both current and gone, in his book *Friendship Sloops*.¹

The accompanying photograph of the thirty-one foot sloop *Sorceress*, owned by Dr. Ruy Gutierrez of Auburn, Maine, was taken during the parade of boats at last year's Homecoming Regatta in Rockland, Maine. Note her clipper bow with carved trail boards, graceful sheer, overhanging stern with elliptical transom, and the large gaff headed mainsail. It is easy to see why the Friendship Sloop has become so popular. In his book, Duncan describes her as "a gaff rigged sloop with a fisherman look about her."

Along the coast of Maine, just west of Penobscot Bay, is a coastal indentation known as Muscongus Bay. There in the 1880s and 1890s, the Muscongus Bay Sloop was developed for use in the inshore fisheries. She was a shoal-draft centerboard vessel which allowed her to maneuver through the rocky ledges of the Maine coast. Prior to this time, fishermen used rowed dories for lobstering and hand line fishing for cod, pollock and other near shore fish. With the increase in the demand for fish and lobsters in the Portland and Boston markets, a larger boat was needed. In addition, the new boat had to be one that could go farther off shore and be particularly seaworthy in winter as well. Also, she should be able to carry a fair catch, be easily handled by one person, and most importantly, be able to stand up to the rough weather which can rise rapidly along the rugged and rocky Maine coast.

The Muscongus Bay Sloop which evolved from the experiences of the local fishermen admirably met these needs. Her design was additionally influenced by the Gloucester, Massachusetts, fishing schooners, since as Duncan notes, many men from the area worked on these schooners, both as dorymen and some as captains. The Muscongus Bay Sloop ultimately developed into the Friendship Sloop and it is, therefore, not easy initially to tell the two of them apart. For boats of nearly the same length, their appearance at a distance is quite similar. The Muscongus Bay Sloops were generally 16 to 26 feet in length, had a sharp high bow, a mast stepped well forward, a strong sheer, and a gaff-rigged mainsail. In addition, they were lighter centerboard boats until 1891 when the first full keel boat was built.

In time more of the fishing sloops were built east of the head of Muscongus Bay in the town of Friendship, from which the type ultimately took



Friendship sloop *Sorceress*. Photograph by Paul Dustin.

its name. By then the principal early builder, Wilbur A. Morse, was building in that town. The Friendship Sloop has an appearance similar to that of her predecessor, although she was generally longer, up to forty feet in length. Her particular characteristics include a more pronounced clipper bow with trail boards, a long graceful sheer, a beam of about a third of her length, and a raking stern with an elliptical counter. For sails she normally carries a large gaff-headed main, and two headsails, consisting of jib and staysail. At times she may also carry main and jib topsails as well. Other distinguishing features of a Friendship are a small cuddy cabin, a main boom which typically is the length of the hull and a long downward curving bowsprit. The Friendship Sloop has a deep full keel with heavy ballast. This, coupled with her wide beam, gives the boat stability in heavy weather and the ability to carry a large sail area. In all, the Friendship proved to be a very able fishing boat until a later development made her obsolete.

With the introduction of the gasoline engine in the early 1900s, the use of sailing Friendship Sloops as fishing and lobstering boats began to decline. The engine allowed for a faster boat and provided the ability to use a power driven winch to raise lobster traps. Few new working sloops were built between the years 1920 and 1960, and those that remained were allowed to deteriorate, although a few continued on as yachts. The design essentially had gone to sleep in a backwater of New England.

The situation changed dramatically in 1960, however. In that year a yacht race, sponsored by the Boston Power Squadron, was held off Boston Harbor. One of the participants in that race was a Friendship Sloop which previously had been converted to a yacht. By the time the signal sounded for the yachts to turn and head back for the finish line, the lone Friendship in that race, *Voyager*, had worked her way up through the fleet. As Duncan notes, at that point *Voyager* let out her large mainsail and ran for the finish line.



Model of *Pemaquid*. Photograph by Paul Dustin.

Meanwhile, as the other yachts astern of her were having to weather the increasing breeze, *Voyager* handily crossed the finish line first.

Although *Voyager* subsequently lost the winner's title due to the handicapping system used, she clearly had shown what the design could do in heavy air. As a result of that race, the Friendship Sloop gained a new acceptance as a racing and cruising boat. Since then, races have been run yearly under the sponsorship of the Society along the New England coast, culminating with the Homecoming Regatta. Initially, this regatta was held in the harbor for which the sloop is named, Friendship, Maine. As the fleet outgrew its place of origin, the regatta was moved, and has been held a few miles further east in Rockland for the past few years.

The Society today numbers over two hundred registered sloops consisting of restored originals, near replicas and modern reproductions. Of these, thirty sloops took part in the regatta in Rockland last year. Certainly this is great participation for

a boat whose days appeared to have been over eighty years ago.

The Friendship Sloop is also a popular subject for ship modelers. Her lines are those of a traditional sail boat with a clipper bow, including a large cockpit with a cuddy cabin, and a gaff rig with long bowsprit and dual headsails. As most sloops were twenty to forty feet in length, the models are also of modest size. These characteristics make for an attractive display model. In addition, her simple rigging, and particularly when modeled using a solid hull construction, the Friendship Sloop is an ideal model for a beginning modeler.

At the modeler's scale of 1/96 (1/8" = 1') the Friendship Sloop would also be a good subject for a ship in a bottle model. One modeler, Mat Leupold of The USS *Constitution* Model Shipwright Guild, Charlestown, Massachusetts, has done just that, although he did something a bit different and put his model into a glass domed cheese board instead. Mat noted that the size of the container

was just right for a waterline model of a mid-twenty-foot sloop under sail.

When he started the project he had in mind to use it as a rehearsal for his ambition to someday build an actual ship model in a bottle. Initially, he thought of the cheese board with its removable glass cover merely as a substitute for the bottle. However, not too far along into the project, he abandoned some of the construction constraints inherent in a rig that has to be folded in order to be put through the neck of a bottle. He decided to capitalize on what the removable cover of the cheese board offered. Particularly, this would allow him to have stiffened sails, and to portray them realistically trimmed.

Mat chose as his subject the sloop *Pemaquid* which, with a hull length of 25 feet (between perpendiculars), resulted in a model whose hull was just over three inches long. The model was constructed after the lines given in Chapelle's book, *American Small Sailing Craft*.² As noted by Chapelle, *Pemaquid* was built about 1914 by A. K. Carter at Bremen, Maine. It is worth noting that Pemaquid Point and Light, for which the sloop was likely named, form the western approach to Muscongus Bay.

The illustration shows Mat's model of *Pemaquid* under the glass dome. The distortion in the photo is due to the dome itself, although the representation of the model is fairly clear. As an indication of the size of the model, note that the area under the dome is slightly larger than 4 by 6 inches. *Pemaquid* is sailing along on a close reach under main and double headsails, as would often have been the case. A close inspection will also show the helmsman at the tiller; such is the level of realism in the model. I asked Mat about the difficulty of providing detail in a model of this scale, as many of the fittings etc. would be very small, if indeed they could be shown at all. His answer, I thought, was very interesting. "In large models, the eye is drawn to details, whereas in small models it is more like looking at a picture which is telling a story. As a result, one does not need all of the details to obtain the effect. You do not look as closely at the model as you might with a magnifying glass." The model as seen in the illustration is intended, therefore, to appear as you would see her sailing by at some distance.

Mat has described the construction practices he used in building his model in an article which he wrote for the magazine *Seaways' Ships in Scale*.³ When he started this project he intended to put the model into the usual bottle. Later, he found the cheese board and fabricated stiffened sails, setting them as they would appear on a close reaching starboard tack. To create the sails he first constructed a carved wooden form with the proper sail set and draft, and then used this to make the sails from a three piece laminate of silkspan/linen/silkspan. In some ways, Mat feels the sails are the unique feature of the model. Compare his model's photograph with the other illustration and notice the relative lack of small details in the photographs. Do they not both look like pictures of yachts at a distance?

NOTES

1. Roger F. Duncan, *Friendship Sloops* (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1985). This book is probably the definitive work describing the development and history of the Muscongus Bay and Friendship Sloops. It includes a listing of the sloops registered with the Friendship Sloop Society, as well as a listing of the regatta winners up to the book's date of publication. As the book has been long out of print, I am indebted to Bob Rex of Reading, Massachusetts, the Society's Race Committee chairman, for the loan of his copy. Bob also provided me with much information on the Society's origin and its activities.
2. Howard L. Chapelle, *American Small Sailing Craft* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1951). See pages 266 to 276 for a brief description of these sloops, their construction, and the lines of *Pemaquid*.
3. Mat Leupold, "Friendship Sloop in Miniature," *Seaways' Ships in Scale*, 10:1 (Seaways Publishing), 52-56.
4. For those modelers who are interested in building a Friendship Sloop, kits are available which range from fairly simple to a plank on bulkhead construction for more advanced modelers. One such supplier also has a model

which is suitable for radio control operation. See the catalogs of: Bluejacket Shipcrafters, PO Box 425, Stockton Springs, ME 04981, and Model Expo, Inc. PO Box 229140, 3850 North 29th Terrace, Hollywood, FL 33022. The Wooden Boat Store, PO Box 78, Naskeag Road Brooklin, ME 04616, has a half hull model available.

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Among the many subjects to be covered is ship models and modeling. Papers are invited for presentation which relate to ship models. As with articles in the *Neptune*, the emphasis should be on the "why, what, or uses" of models. Subjects might include models of notable historic vessels, modeling research and methods, collections of models, or any unusual or unique modeling techniques or materials. Contact the Publisher of *The American Neptune*, Dr. Donald Marshall, or Paul Dustin of the Neptune Staff for details.

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Jeremiah Dodge, *Jack Tar*, mid 19th Century
Courtesy WH Collection

RESTORATION NEWS

EVA RITTER-WALKER

GLOUCESTER'S *ADVENTURE*

The Port of London may have its *Havengore*, but Gloucester, Massachusetts, has a project of its own: the restoration of the dory fishing schooner *Adventure*.

Built in Essex, Massachusetts, in 1926 as a bowsprit-less "knockabout," this rugged septuagenarian, solidly built of white oak and Southern pine, can look back on twenty-seven years of fishing the North Atlantic's Outer Banks. The *Adventure* measured 121'6" from stem to stern, carried a full sailing rig, a diesel engine, and fourteen dories. She was known as a "highliner," landing almost \$4 million worth of cod and other ground fish during her long career. She was known as the biggest money maker of all time.

Adventure is one of the last of the four thousand Essex-built, wooden two-masted schooners that made Gloucester the greatest fishing port in America. Designed by Thomas McManus, *Adventure* is considered to be the pinnacle of fishing schooner design.

This ship and her crews lived through heavy, dangerous work in winter and summer, fought storms, fog, snow, ice and bitter cold, and faced mountainous seas. Thousands of Gloucester fishermen and hundreds of schooners were lost over time, but *Adventure* survived. As Joe Garland, *Adventure*'s founding president and Boston's North Shore maritime historian, said some years ago, "*Adventure* is the Old Ironsides of the American fisheries." She is, indeed, one of the last surviving Grand Banks Fishing Schooners.

When this Gloucesterman was retired in 1953 she was the only American dory trawler still working in the Atlantic. Although she had worn out her aging crew, this ship still had a lot of life left. She was brought to Maine and refitted for carrying passengers on windjammer cruises along the Maine Coast for another thirty-three years. First with Captain Dayton Newton, and then with

Captain Jim Sharp at the helm, *Adventure* was soon known as "Queen of the Windjammers."

On August 27, 1988 she sailed home to Gloucester, only to win the City's annual schooner race by half a mile one week later! Not long after that Captain Sharp donated the old schooner to The Gloucester Adventure, Inc., a nonprofit, educational organization, with the proviso that "she will continue to be cared for, prominently displayed as a monument to the City of Gloucester, and used for the education and pleasure of the public."

The Gloucester Adventure, Inc. has been hard at work ever since, not only to maintain and sail *Adventure*, but to restore the schooner as a symbol of Gloucester's rich seafaring heritage. The organization has offered educational programs for youngsters and adults, onboard tours for the public, and meeting and special events facilities for organizations and individuals. Throughout these various efforts, *Adventure* has been maintained by volunteers.

The years of community effort, volunteering, grant-writing, and fund-raising by *Adventure*'s board, staff, and volunteers has paid off. Over \$800,000 have been raised for the rebuild of the schooner, now more than half completed. In 1990 the bow and stern were rebuilt, and in 1991 most of the port side was restored. In Fall 1997 a major restoration of the "Old Lady's" starboard side began. For almost a year she was up on the ways under the supervision of Hermann Hinrichsen, a world-class shipwright. Only the finest materials were used, including several special white oak trees from the Royal Danish forest, planted for the Royal Navy over 350 years ago!

When the starboard side was completed, *Adventure* was relaunched, and educational programs, onboard tours, and the ever popular (fund-raising) Sunday morning breakfasts aboard during the summer could resume. The restoration is not yet complete. A new phase will begin this Fall, when stanchions, bulwarks, and rails on the port side will be tackled from the break in the deck to the stern.

One hundred thousand dollars have been raised so far, and more is needed, but The Gloucester Adventure, Inc.'s president, Marty Krugman, is optimistic. "Working together, broad-based, largely volunteer community effort is

*Walk the Decks
of History. . .*



THE GLOUCESTER
Adventure
A National Historic Landmark

successfully saving the *Adventure*," he said in *Adventure*'s recent newsletter. Some time in the next few years, the old schooner will sail again — as Gloucester's flagship, an innovative platform for environmental and multi-disciplinary hands-on learning, and the last true Gloucesterman in this oldest of American seaports.

Adventure is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and in 1994 was designated as a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service. She is a destination site on the Essex National Heritage Area's Maritime Heritage Trail and the only National Historic Landmark Vessel in Essex County.

The Gloucester Adventure, Inc. will gratefully accept donations toward the restoration of this rare, historic schooner and offers several membership categories. All donations are tax deductible to the extent allowable by law. Checks may be made payable to:

The Gloucester Adventure, Inc.
PO Box 1306
Gloucester, MA 01930

Finally, you may find information about the *Adventure* at www.schooner-adventure.org, or you may call (978) 281-8079. Volunteers are always welcome to help with the restoration.

LETTERS

FOX VS. HUMPHREYS

In his article on Josiah Fox, Merle Westlake continues the effort periodically made by Fox's descendants to burnish the image of their ancestor. In so doing, Westlake, like Fox's great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Brandon Stanton, in her paper "Builder of the First American Navy" in the *Journal of American History* over nine decades ago, has based his paper on the Josiah Fox collection of papers, now in the Peabody Essex Museum. He has largely ignored those in the National Archives.

His discussion of Fox's criticism of Joshua Humphreys frigate designs is based on a draft document in the Fox collection, the finished version of which was sent to Humphreys and, as Mr. Westlake notes, was forwarded by him, in mid-May 1794, to Secretary of War Henry Knox. Knox, in turn, sent it on to Philadelphia shipwright John Wharton for comment. Wharton's comments are unknown. What Mr. Westlake failed to mention, but documents in the National Archives do not, is that the committee considering the Humphreys proposals, of which Wharton was a member and all of whose members were experienced shipyard owners, had reported its recommendations to Knox, and through him to President Washington, in mid-April. By the end of that month the President's decisions were known and Humphreys had been directed to proceed with final draughts and half models. There was little discernible difference from what he had proposed in January to Senator Morris. Nothing in the documentation I've seen attests to any changes being made as a result of the Fox critique or refers to any Fox drawings. It seems unlikely that the views of anyone whose total practical experience in shipbuilding was just three years of apprenticeship, as was Fox's, would have had much impact.

Mr. Westlake writes, "Although both Fox and Humphreys had been involved in the preparation

of draughts since April 1794, Humphreys was not officially appointed constructor for the frigate to be built at Philadelphia until late June, nor was Fox notified of his own appointment as clerk until July." The facts are that all contracts, whether for personnel, facilities, or materials, had to await congressional appropriation, and this occurred in June. Humphreys promptly was hired as "naval constructor" both to create the plans and moulds for the six authorized frigates and to build one of the larger ones in his yard in Philadelphia. His pay was made retroactive to May 1 to reflect the work on drafts and models already accomplished, a point ignored by Mr. Westlake. On the other hand, Fox was appointed in mid-July, effective only from the first of that month. All of this is in materials in the National Archives. The fact that Fox was only appointed a clerk at \$500 a year, and that his pay began on July 1, imply an absence of a meaningful contribution to the process up to that point; and that his contribution began with Humphreys' approach to him with regard to the erection of the mould loft.

As for Fox's participation in preparing builders drafts, the record in the National Archives makes a strong case for his primary effort being in the preparation of moulds. Drafts exist in Record Group 19 for one 44-gun frigate (dated November 1794, for *Constitution* or *President*) and two smaller ones (both dated January 1795) (*Congress* and *Constellation*), all signed by William Doughty and accounting for one-half of those needed for the original six frigates. Joshua Humphreys almost certainly used his master draft for the 44 built at Philadelphia (*United States*); that plan is in the Rare Documents Collection at the Archives under the name of *Terrible*. That leaves two ships unaccounted for. Josiah Fox, as Mr. Westlake writes, was responsible for the draft for the *Chesapeake* as she finally had to be built. The existence of the one we may mean for a 44 (*President* or *Constitution*) and known to have

been completed in November 1794, is known to me. However, the record indicates that Fox was being pressed to complete the six sets of moulds in the fall of that year, and so it seems likely that it, too, was done by Doughty.

Note: there is in Record Group 19 a builder's draft for a 44 signed by Fox and dated "1795." It is believed he did this for *Chesapeake* at the time of his appointment as assistant naval constructor and before it was known that she could not be built to that standard. Mr. William Bass made a careful comparison study of this, Humphreys' *Terrible*, and the 1794 Doughty draft over twenty years ago, and found them as identical as hand-made copies could be.

Fox's papers dealing with his activities associated with the construction of the early Navy must be looked at in the context in which they were written. Most were not created until thirty years after the events, and then were compiled to support (unsuccessfully) his case for reinstatement as a naval constructor. They are self-serving and sometimes conflicting, and ought to be evaluated in that light, claims therein to be subjected to confirmation by other, disinterested sources.

For a more detailed discussion of the events of 1794, together with citations, interested readers are referred to my article "The USS *Constitution*: A Design Confirmed," *American Neptune*, 57:3, 257-265.

TYRONE MARTIN
COMMANDER, USN (RET.)

Commander Martin also authored (with John C. Roach) "Joshua Humphreys Real Innovation," in Naval History (March/April 1994), and presently is working on a biography of William Doughty with Virginia Steele Wood.

MODEL BOAT PLANS SOUGHT

The reason for this letter has to do with my fruitless search for model ship plans of the *Ark* and *Dove*, particularly the *Dove*. These were the ships that brought the first settlers to Maryland in the 1620s, an area now known as St. Mary's City.

The Maryland Historical Society has a model of the *Dove* in their maritime display, but has no

inkling of where to find plans. I have contacted all the model boat plans companies and maritime museums without any success.

Any assistance your readers may be able to provide for me will be greatly appreciated. All of the models I have built, including the Hooper Straight Lighthouse, a 24-pounder *Constellation* deck cannon, and a Mississippi stern wheeler (all scratch built) are displayed yearly in my neighborhood, fourteen in all.

My future goals are to construct the *Chesapeake* lightship, the *Willie Bennett* skipjack, the tug *Seguin*, and above all, the *Dove*. I have, on occasion, strayed from the Chesapeake area with a model that intrigues me.

RAYMOND K. MILES JR.
6761 Marvin Avenue
Sykesville, Maryland MD 21784-5902

EVERS BURTNER

"The Papers of Evers Burtner (1893-1984)" appears in the *American Neptune*, Volume 59, No. 1, pages 67-70. Due to a series of errors, of which the first was mine, the authors' byline is incorrect. It should read: Victor A. Lewinson and Kurt Hasselbach. The biographical note is correct.

Victor A. Lewinson
Salem, Massachusetts

EMIL SMOLA

As one of your oldest subscribers, I guess I can correct one statement in your article on Emil Smola in Volume 59, No. 1. It appears in the last sentence on the left column on page 46 where it is stated, "A ship was swung several times during its lifetime, especially after major reconstruction."

At one time, I was an apprentice compass adjuster. I enlisted in the Navy on December 8, 1941, but it must have been a little late in the morning because there must have been several thousand people ahead of me. I was told to go home and they would catch up with me when the Nazis hit Pittsburgh. Instead, I got a job as an

apprentice compass adjuster, because the business was booming. It may be that a warship was not swung that often, but merchant ships were — particularly if they were coming in light from Europe and going out heavy. Try and swing a ship loaded with tanks — I did, and it really cannot be done! The compass just ran around in slow circles.

Also, ships ran at sea with a “degaussing” off. Unfortunately, they could not turn it off to be swung on the European side. If they happened to be over a magnetic mine, they blew up. Therefore, we did a lot of ships over here when their degaussing was turned off. I remember the *Queen Mary* particularly. Boston did not have an adjusting buoy. We swung at sea.

I pass this on for what it’s worth.

Henry S. Streeter
Boston, Massachusetts

PETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER

I would like to make a few comments on the article “The Marine Engraving of Peter Bruegel the Elder” in the *American Neptune*, Volume 58, No. 4.

Referring to drawing B.98, “The Scip 1567,” T. J. Gunn-Graham describes the vessel as follows: The vessel off the bow is a herring buss, a long developed North Sea fishing boat design which differs from its medieval antecedents by virtue of its high ranked poop.”

I would like to emphasize that this type of vessel is not a “herring buss.” To the contrary, this is one of the oldest drawings of a “Bojer (Boyer).” These Boyers were used as cargo ships. Particularly, Boyers were commonly used in trade relations between Amsterdam and the Baltic Sea. However, they were never used for fishing.

I would kindly ask to take into consideration that the mainmast was equipped with a spritsail and above a topsail. The mizzenmast, sometimes called a “druilmast,” was equipped with a latin or triangular sail. This constellation of sails was a suitable and commonly used solution for long-term vessel freight. A more detailed description of various types of vessels which were used in the

Baltic Sea will be available in my article, “Smakken, Duffen, Galioten,” in *Das Logbuch*, page 17 (*American Neptune*, page 409).

Horst Menzel
Das Logbuch
Hamburg, Germany

OBITUARY

DAVID C. HOLLY

The seaman-writer-statesman David C. Holly, a brave and compassionate man, passed away February 12, 1999.

He served as a naval officer in World War II and the Korean War before entering academic life, first as a professor in the School of International Service at the American University, then as chairman of the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at Hampton-Sydney College in Virginia. His book, *Exodus 1947*, was published by the Naval Institute Press in 1995.

David Holly wrote first about local Chesapeake Bay ships. One especially, *President Warfield*, was named for S. Davies Warfield, president of Old Bay Line, Chesapeake Bay. There was an unusual departure from the local setting, when Warfield’s niece became Duchess of Windsor, wife of Edward VIII, the former King of England, in 1936.

Built in 1928 for the Baltimore Steam Packet Company by Pusey and Jones Corp., Wilmington, Delaware, SS *President Warfield* carried passengers and freight between Norfolk, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland. The ship was acquired by the War Shipping Administration at Baltimore on July 12, 1942, and converted to a transport craft for transfer to the British Ministry of War.

Manned by a British merchant crew led by Captain J. R. Williams, she departed St. John’s, Newfoundland, on September 21 with other small passenger steamers bound for the United Kingdom. Attacked by a German submarine eight hundred miles west of Ireland on September 25, she evaded one torpedo, and, after the scattering of her convoy, reached Belfast. In Britain, she served as a barracks and training ship on the

Torrige River at Instow.

Returned by Britain, she joined the US Navy as *President Warfield* on May 21, 1944. In July 1944 she served as a station and accommodation ship at Omaha Beach, France. Following duty in England and on the River Seine, she arrived at Norfolk, Virginia, on July 25 and left active Navy service on September 13. Struck from the Naval Vessel Register on October 11 and returned to the War Shipping Administration on November 14, 1945, she was sold on November 9, 1946, in Washington DC to the Potomac Shipwrecking Company, an agent of the Jewish political group Haifa.

Departing Baltimore on February 25, 1947, she headed for the Mediterranean. Loaded on July 12, 1947, 4,500 Jewish refugees bound for Palestine, she departed Sete, France, but came under the surveillance of British warships, which had been ordered to prevent further immigration into Palestine. Under Master Itzak Aronowitz she was renamed *Exodus 1947*. Upon arrival in Palestine waters, she was rammed by British warships, boarded by para troopers, taken captive and conducted into the port of Haifa. Critical damage had been done by the British attack and the ship was barely seaworthy. Her passengers were denied entry into Palestine.

The British put the passengers aboard two British prison ships and conducted them back to Germany. The passengers refused to disembark in

Germany and had to be taken back to Israel and disembark there.

When Israel achieved independence on May 14, 1948, *Exodus 1947* remained moored to a breakwater at Haifa Harbor. Selected by Leon Uris for the title of his novel *Exodus*, she later burned to the waterline on August 10, 1952, and was towed to Sherman Beach in Haifa. In 1963 she was raised and scrapped by an Italian firm.

Her length was 169 ft.; her tonnage 1,814; her beam 56.6; her draft 18 ft. 6 in.; and her speed 15 knots.

David Holly followed her career in his book from the Chesapeake through the war and to her end in an Italian shipyard, an account which remembers the ship's history and the deeds of the men who served aboard her.

May we remember and honor well the ship and the author.

CAPTAIN RUDOLPH PATZERT
Encinitas, California

David Holly was a regular reviewer of books for The American Neptune. In the Spring 1966 issue we published his article "Recovering of the Crosshead Engine of the Steamboat Columbus."

BARRY GOUGH, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

BOOK REVIEWS

RICHARD ELLIS, *Imagining Atlantis*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1998. x + 322 pages, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. Cloth. \$27.50.

Imagining Atlantis — an apt title for Richard Ellis's latest book which explores another aspect of the lore of the sea. In spite of literally thousands of books having been written about Atlantis, Ellis's book is a wonderful addition because in one book he shows us how Atlantis has entered the imagination of people in all walks of life — from Plato to Francis Bacon, from Arthur Conan Doyle to Edgar Cayce. Was Atlantis a myth, or was it somehow related to the 1500 BC eruption of an Aegean volcanic island which might have resulted in an entire civilization being destroyed? "Was there ever a real Atlantis or is it a symbol and metaphor for so many things its reality is forever buried" (page viii). In trying to answer the question, readers will find out that Atlantis has been located in South America, in the Sahara, the Baltic Sea as well as the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Ocean. Following the many twists and turns of Atlantian lore, the reader will learn a great deal about Greek archaeology, particularly as it relates to the ancient Minoan civilization. In what might seem like a bit of digression, Ellis devotes an entire chapter to the science and history of tsunamis. Because of the breadth of material covered, Ellis's discussion at times seems rambling and disjointed. However, at the same time, this is what makes the book so rich. Readers whose interests are confined to oceanography and what directly has to do with the sea may pass this book up, but they will have missed a fascinating account of a story which has endured for thousands of years.

Ellis begins at the beginning. The story of Atlantis appears first in writing in Plato's dialogues, the *Critias* and the *Timaeus*. Whe-

ther fact or fiction, Plato is "the most important author in the Atlantis canon. Without his dialogues there would be no connection to draw between the Minoan civilization and the Lost City. There would be no searches in the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, the Baltic or the Caribbean" (page 27). The next chapter discusses the most prominent writers of Atlantian lore and devotes considerable attention to Ignatius Donnelly. Next to Plato, Donnelly is the most important writer on Atlantis. He argued that Plato's story was true, that Atlantis did exist in the Atlantic ocean, but also drew connections between Atlantis and the mythologies of virtually every civilization, from Egypt to Peru. Another chapter is devoted to the Atlantis of the mystics. Madam Blavatsky and Edgar Cayce are just two of the people discussed. Ellis also examines the portrayal of Atlantis in fiction and film.

The heart of Ellis's book is devoted to the Atlantis of the scientists, who have various theories on the existence and destruction of the city. The first to propose that the Minoan civilization had been destroyed by a volcanic eruption on Santorini was archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos. Ellis uses an entire chapter for the excavations at Santorini, focusing on the dig at Akrotiri. Seismologist Angelo Galanopoulos argued that although Plato got the dates wrong, he was describing the eruption of the volcano on Thera (Santorini) which destroyed most of the island along with the Minoan civilization. In a separate chapter, Ellis asks: was Minoan Crete Atlantis? Ellis examines the evidence that Knossos may have been destroyed by earthquakes or tsunamis resulting from the eruption on Santorini that occurred around 1500 BC, and how well these events correlate to Plato's story. One learns a considerable amount about Minoan civilization in trying to link it to Atlantis. A word of caution is noted by the distinguished

ancient social historian Moses Finley: "The Atlantis myth was altogether a Platonic invention. It was left to the modern world to treat it as garbled history" (page 96).

Ellis's work in many respects can be considered a compendium of other people's writings. It contains extensive quotes from a huge variety of sources. He defends his "overciting" because he believes most later versions of the Atlantis story are misguided, exaggerated, or incorrect. In order to defend this position, he believes that he must actually quote what people have said, rather than just claiming a particular person is irresponsible. As a historian, I appreciate his careful documentation. Because he has quoted so many people from vulcanologists to mystics, not to mention countless numbers of archaeologists, classicists, and historians as well as popular writers, Ellis has wisely included an appendix of the *dramatis personae* who have been associated with the Atlantis story.

In a final chapter, Ellis reviews the main different theories concerning Atlantis and returns to where he began — with Plato. He concludes that it is Plato's story and Plato's alone which "utilized mythology, but no history. No amount of scuba diving, reinterpretation, mysticism or archaeology can change that" (page 262). However, this is not as clear cut a statement as it appears, because just a few lines before he points out that all good stories, like Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, while incorporating contemporaneous mythology, also contain descriptions of real people and real places. The story of Atlantis has persisted as a bridge to the past connecting us to Plato and perhaps to an event that occurred nine thousand years earlier. Atlantis has and will continue to capture our imaginations.

SHERRIE L. LYONS
Daemen College
Amherst, New York

SHELLEY WACHSMANN, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant*. College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University

Press, 1998. 417 pages, illustrations, bibliography, five appendices, glossary, index. ISBN 0-89096-709-1. \$80.00.

The Bronze Age was an important period in the history of seafaring. At its beginning, seaborne trade was sporadic and largely local; by its end, the eastern Mediterranean had become "a super-highway by which cultures communicated" (page 3). An examination of the evidence for ships and seafaring over a period of two millennia is the daunting task that Shelley Wachsmann, Meadows Assistant Professor of Biblical Archaeology at the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A&M University, has undertaken here in his revised Ph.D. dissertation.

The volume is divided into two parts. In Part I, Wachsmann examines the evidence for the ships of five geographical regions. The ships of Egypt, the Syro-Canaanite Littoral, and Cyprus are dealt with in the first three chapters, while the next three are devoted to the ships of the Aegean. One chapter covers the entire region during the Early Bronze Age; for the Middle and Late Bronze Ages there is a chapter on Minoan/Cycladic ships and another on Mycenaean/Achaean ships. The ships of the Sea Peoples and the evidence from shipwrecks is considered in the final two chapters of this part. Each chapter is organized in the same way, beginning with the presentation of the textual evidence, the archaeological material, and the iconographic evidence, in that order. This is followed by a discussion of points of controversy arising from the evidence in this context, or sometimes when discussing the iconographic evidence. Wachsmann introduces what he calls ethnographical evidence, that is, knowledge of the way ships were built and used in periods long after the Bronze Age. Part II is arranged thematically, with individual chapters on seven topics related to seafaring: ship construction, propulsion, anchors, navigation, sea trade, war and piracy at sea, and sea laws. There is a final chapter of conclusions.

Wachsmann's command of the material is impressive, as the 475 first-rate illustrations, more than 1,600 footnotes and twenty-six pages

of bibliography testify. He rightfully stresses throughout that none of the evidence is easy to interpret, and only rarely does it lead to definitive conclusions. That said, there is no shortage of conclusions put forth here, albeit many of them are tentative. Only a select few can be noted. Egyptian ships were, he believes, transversely lashed, while pegged mortise-and-tenon joinery seems to have developed along the Syro-Canaanite coast. The boom-fitted rig appears along the Nile even before the Bronze Age, and an almost identical rig continued to be used on the seagoing ships of both Egypt and the Syro-Canaanite coast until about 1200 BC, when it was replaced by the brailed rig. By the Late Bronze Age, regular trade routes between Egypt and the Syro-Canaanite coast on one end and the Aegean on the other existed. The Cretans played a seminal role in opening this route and may have crossed to Egypt on a regular basis. There is, he argues, no evidence of direct trade between the Mycenaean Greeks and the Egypt/Syro-Canaanite coastal region, despite the fact that the Mycenaeans showed highly developed seafaring skills and employed a variety of ships. These were, he contends, not merchant vessels but warships used for coastal raiding, mercenary transport, and colonization ventures. He believes that the ships of the Sea Peoples are almost identical to those of the Mycenaean Greeks, and consequently that either the Sea Peoples were Mycenaeans or that a considerable number of Mycenaean refugees must have accompanied them.

This is a mere sampling of what awaits the reader of this exciting and well written volume. On the whole, Wachsmann seems most comfortable with the archaeological and iconographic evidence, and he uses it with the reserve it demands. He seems less comfortable working with the textual material and is less cautious when using it. A case in point is Homer, who, he assumes throughout, provides evidence for the Late Bronze Age, rather than the eighth century BC, as most classical scholars now maintain. There are some inconsistencies and contradictions, and not all of the arguments are convincing, but these are minor when viewed against the whole. In *Seagoing Ships and*

Seamanship in the Bronze Age Levant, Wachsmann has assembled and made sense of a bewildering amount of widely scattered and disparate data. The end result is a storehouse of information and fresh ideas.

THOMAS KELLY
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RAPHAEL PATAI, *The Children of Noah: Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times*. Princeton, N.J. and Chichester, UK: Princeton University Press, 1998. xix + 227 pages, nineteen illustrations, one appendix, notes, index. Cloth. 6¼" x 9½". ISBN 0-691-01580-5. \$24.95.

The straight and sandy coastline of the Mediterranean has a 5,000-year-old nautical heritage. Despite the lack of natural harbors and the dangers of low lying reefs, seaborne trade flourished along these shores — from where Old Kingdom Egyptian Pharaohs imported wood via the sea to build their large, Nilotic funeral barges, Phoenicians and their precursors launched into the central and western Mediterranean — and for hundreds of years Roman merchant ships frequented its many exposed ports. Sprinkled among the numerous written sources from these eras are a rich variety of anecdotes, myths, legends, and parables which use the eastern sea as backdrop. Among these appear the classical Biblical accounts: Noah's ark, Solomon's ships, Jonah and the whale, and the Apostle Paul's departure for Rome. However, many Jewish sources remain untapped. The Talmud and Apocrypha, for example, have gone largely ignored by nautical historians, so too the other rabbinical writings of the post-Biblical period (first to fifth centuries AD).

Patai's *Children of Noah* is a synthesis of all this material and more. Throughout the book, Patai applies his expert knowledge of ancient Hebrew, word for word, to elucidate formerly dubious translations. This is his primary strength. The book bristles with Biblical quotations, each reinforcing his thesis that the sea played an important role in the cultural

development and history of Biblical Israel.

Most appropriately, the book begins with Noah's ark, turning then to a survey of Old Testament passages involving nautical themes. The next few chapters deal topically with various aspects of ancient ships and seafaring. Nautical allusions in legends, similes, and parables comprise two chapters, while ports, port cities, and seafaring upon Lake Ninneret (Sea of Galilee) round out the book. Included is an appendix on seafaring passages in the book of Mormon.

The book's strengths lie in the illumination of Jewish seafaring culture (until recently a largely unsung concept) using anecdotes mined from the pages of rabbinical sources. For example, "if a ship was caught in a storm both Jew and gentile aboard would pray, each to his own god. The earliest evidence of this is found in the book of Jonah (Jon 1:5).... A Tannaitic source tells of a wise Jewish child who admonished the gentile sailors to pray not to their idols but to 'Him who created the sea,' and of the Jewish sailors' custom of fasting and blowing the shofar in the hour of danger on high seas" (page 93).

Where similes, parables, and anecdotes enlighten, practical analysis disappoints. Egyptian depictions of fighting tops (crows' nests) are *not* common on Egyptian warships. No doubt Patai refers to ships with these devices depicted on the walls of two Egyptian tombs (Kenamun and Iniwia), both of which portray *Syro-Canaanite* trading ships on the Nile. Nor do mast tops of the ships in the Medinet Habu reliefs depict archers, but slingers. And so on.

With regard to harbors in chapter thirteen, Patai describes the first century BC artificial harbor of Caesarea Maritima in Israel as separate from city proper by "some distance," when in fact they abut each other, as can be seen even today. Their separation, as described by the ancient Jewish historian Josephus, is one of economics, not geography. The city's founder and builder, King Herod the Great, built the harbor specifically for palace revenue.

The last two criticisms are more of a product of inadequate research than faulty analysis, a shortcoming which taints nearly every chap-

ter. The deficiency may be ascribed to the book's beginnings, which, according to Patai's introduction, date back to the 1930s, when the topic of ancient seafaring found few publications. Contributions by the late nautical historian James Hornell add depth to the early chapters, but a glance at the endnotes reflects a vacuum of nautical scholarship in the intervening years. For example, we see Lionel Casson's popular book, *The Ancient Mariners* (1991), but not his encyclopedic and authoritative *Ships and Seafaring in the Ancient World* (1971). Nor is Sperber's *Nautica Talmudica* (1986) mentioned.

Mistakes aside, Patai succeeds in demonstrating the important role of the sea in Jewish culture and history. The layman should find it an absorbing read, while the nautical historian will recognize its value as a reference manual for post-Biblical seafaring themes.

DANNY L. DAVIS
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas

RICHARD BUEL, JR., *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998. xi + 397 pages, index. ISBN 0-300-07388-7. \$35.00.

In spite of its nautical title and the illustration of a naval engagement on the dust jacket, Richard Buel, Jr.'s *In Irons: Britain's Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* is most concerned about agriculture. Specifically Professor Buel has demonstrated and analyzed the near total collapse of American commercial agriculture between 1775 and 1780, its brief revival in 1780–1781 (just in time to make possible the victory of Yorktown), and its subsequent decline until the adoption of the constitution. Those interested in maritime and naval history will have no cause for complaint, however. Buel concentrates on the availability of markets as the chief determinant of farmers' behavior and those markets de-

pended largely on the movement of grain by river and sea. Thus, Buel devotes great attention not only to farmers and millers, but also to merchants and shipowners. He also sees the British naval blockade as one of two chief reasons all of them faced such enormous obstacles and the American Revolution almost collapsed. The other reason was British occupation at one time or another of what he calls America's gateway ports, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, which he treats as far more damaging than most purely military historians consider it. While those interested in maritime history will enjoy his detailed discussion of maritime trade, those interested in naval history are given a balanced account of not only the British blockade but of the unsuccessful attempts of the Continental and state navies to break it. In fact it is hard to imagine anyone interested in the American Revolution who will not learn from and enjoy this wonderful book. Buel's topic is so sweeping, his research so broad, and his interests so varied that his work can be used as a general economic history of a war. Indeed, I know of no other economic history of the period as sophisticated. Those interested in social history should find the book fascinating for its study of how people in a variety of occupations adapted to changing circumstances. Political historians will find considerable material on both national and Pennsylvania politics, particularly relating to fiscal and economic issues. He makes a major contribution to military history, particularly through his study of the Yorktown campaign, which succeeded in the nick of time before food supplies gave out. Moreover, his writing is brisk, clear, and free of jargon.

Buel opens himself to criticism only when he departs from American history. While it seems that there is virtually no area of American history with which he is not expert, he is on less firmer ground when he talks about European history. He makes very valuable comments about the reasons French merchants did so poorly in America, but his understanding of French government policy is less sure. Thus, on page 202 he gives sole credit to John Laurens for the bountiful French financial assis-

tance of 1781, while in fact Benjamin Franklin played a far more important role than did the diplomatically maladroit young Laurens. This, however, is a minor caveat. For the vast majority of the book Buel is as reliable and informative as he is eloquent. It would be wonderful if we had as good a history of the impact of the war on French economy. Or on the British economy as Buel has given us of its impact on the American.

Another part of this book's appeal is its handsome appearance and reasonable price. Numerous concessions have been made to economy: there are no illustrations, map, or bibliography, and the notes are at the back. On the other hand it has been well edited with very few typos (such as the addition mistake in table 7.3 on page 177) and it does have a good index. Given the exorbitant price of far inferior books, not only Professor Buel but also Yale University Press should be commended.

JONATHAN R. DULL
New Haven, Connecticut

DAVID WEITZMAN, *Old Ironsides: America Builds a Fighting Ship*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997. 32 pages, 22 drawings in black and white. Cloth. 11" x 9¼". ISBN 0-395-74678-7. \$15.95.

Old Ironsides is a fictionalized tale of the construction of the USS *Constitution* as seen through the eyes of John Aylwin, the pre-teenage son of a Boston ship's carpenter. David Weitzman opens his tale with a brief discussion of the Algerian pirates and need for a United States navy. He then has young Aylwin journey through the entire construction of *Constitution* from discussing plans with Joshua Humphreys to the launching on 21 October 1797. Along the way, John Aylwin sails to St. Simons Island, Georgia, to cut live oak for the frigate's frames. Later, back in Boston, he visits the sailmaker and finally tours the iron furnaces in Providence, Rhode Island, where *Constitution's* guns were being cast. Prior to launching, Aylwin gets

a brief course in preparing a frigate for sea. For his interest in the construction of *Constitution*, John is rewarded with the offer of an apprenticeship in the yard of *Constitution*'s builder. The book concludes with a brief three-page description of *Constitution*'s encounter with *Guerriere* and with Captain Isaac Hull commending his sailing master, John Aylwin, of course, for his handling of *Constitution* during the engagement.

The book, both written and illustrated by David Weitzman, is probably best suited for young readers in the fifth or sixth grade. It is well written and well illustrated, and would prove a fine introduction to naval history and wooden shipbuilding for young readers.

FRED HOPKINS
Linthicum, Maryland

TYRONE G. MARTIN, *A Most Fortunate Ship: A Narrative History of Old Ironsides*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. Revised edition. xi + 440 pages, 39 illustrations, maps, photographs, notes, glossary, index. Cloth, 7" x 10". ISBN 1-55750-588-8. \$35.00.

A Most Fortunate Ship is a revision by Tyrone Martin of his 1980 book of the same title. The text deals with the entire career of the USS *Constitution*, from her launching in Boston in 1797 to her most recent restoration in 1997. In addition to the frigate's history, Martin includes a brief history of the birth of the Federal navy and also a chapter titled "The Ship and Life Aboard Her." In his preface, Tyrone Martin, a former Captain of the *Constitution*, states that five main revisions have been added to the 1980 version.

The initial revision occurs on pages five through eight, where Martin describes Joshua Humphreys' use of diagonal riders to strengthen the frigate's hull. Pages six and seven provide modern drawings indicating how Martin feels the Humphreys rider system functioned. Martin also states in these pages that the elements of this rider system can be found only in the

materials requirement lists of Joshua Humphreys. Unfortunately, Captain Martin's system of notes and bibliography provides few clues as to which of his bibliographic references contain these materials lists and what are the indicators in these lists.

The next three revisions deal with the details of *Constitution*'s engagements with *Guerriere*, *Java*, *Cyanne*, and *Levant*. Martin mentions in the preface that his review of materials left by at least nine participants of these encounters has altered the traditional interpretations of these engagements. In the case of the confrontation with HMS *Guerriere*, the revised version (pages 157–158) includes a description of a collision between the two vessels with damage to the stern section and a brief fire in Captain Hull's cabin.

The engagement with *Java* in the revised edition includes a description of a raking broadside by *Java* (page 172) as she crossed *Constitution*'s stern.

The third set of battle revisions occur relative to *Constitution*'s engagement with *Cyanne* and *Levant*. This revision finds the addition of much more detail than was earlier exhibited in the 1980 text.

As with the case of the diagonal riders, Captain Martin's system of notes and bibliography leaves the reader at a loss if the reader wishes to identify the exact sources of the additions. The only way seems to be for the reader to compare the 1980 notes and bibliography with the 1997 edition and assume that the new entries relate to the revised details. This requires that the reader have access to the earlier edition. It would seem to have been helpful had Martin pointed out in the text of the revised edition just exactly what were the added descriptions in each of the three engagements.

The fifth and final major revision in the 1997 version is the seventeen year update of the restoration of *Constitution* in preparation for her bicentennial birthday.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of Captain Martin's book are his descriptions of life aboard *Constitution* during her many peacetime patrols, particularly in the Mediterranean. By carefully weaving excerpts from the ship's

records and personal diaries and letters of the officers and crew, Martin brings life to the descriptions of the somewhat less than thrilling years of "showing the flag" in foreign waters and supporting American maritime interests. In addition, Captain Martin's careful accounting of the maintenance problems of *Constitution* while on these foreign stations gives the reader a clear insight into the problems of maintaining a wooden sailing vessel in both home and foreign waters.

In all, the 1997 revised edition is interesting and well written. The descriptions of the various battles are vivid and lively and of great detail. The book would be a valued addition to anyone interested in naval or maritime history. If one has the original 1980 version, the 1997 revision should find a place next to it on one's book shelf.

FRED HOPKINS
Linthicum, Maryland

ROSE DE FREYCINET, *A Woman of Courage: The Journal of Rose de Freycinet on her Voyage Around the World 1814–1820*. Translated and edited by Marc Serge Rivière. Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1996. xxv + 189 pages, illustrations, index. \$35.00 (Australian). \$22.00 (US).

A Woman of Courage presents the first complete English translation of the journal of Rose de Freycinet, a twenty-two-year-old Frenchwoman who stowed away on the corvette *Uranie* to sail with her husband, Captain Louis-Claude de Freycinet, on a discovery expedition to the Pacific.

This voyage holds the reader's interest for several reasons. First, it was the first French scientific expedition to follow the end of the Napoleonic Wars. While no new geographical discoveries were made, the scientists carried back an impressive collection of specimens — quite a feat, considering that the voyage was abruptly terminated when the ship ran onto a rock in the Falkland Islands. And then, there was the illegal presence of the captain's wife.

Dressed in a blue frock coat and trousers, Rose de Freycinet stole on board some time before 1 A.M. on September 17, 1817, the day that the expedition sailed from Toulon. It did not stay a secret for long. On October 4 the *Monitor Universel* declared, "This example of conjugal devotion deserves to be made public." Reportedly, Louis Philippe XVIII was amused. The Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, the first official to receive visitors from *Uranie*, was not, and neither was the French Ministry of the Navy. One result of this was that every now and then (e.g., pages 52 and 59), the artists of the expedition, Pellion and Arago, painted the same scene twice, one work being true to life, and the other *sans* Madame. This subterfuge was necessary for the official record, *Voyage autour du Monde... exécuté sur de S. M. l'Uranie et La Physicienne*, which was prepared by de Freycinet and published between 1827 and 1839.

Both kinds of view appear in *A Woman of Courage*, which is lavishly and pertinently illustrated from the enviable collection of the National Library of Australia. While billed as a journal, it is, in fact, a series of intimate letters addressed to Rose's friend, Caroline, Baronne de Nanteuil. This, along with correspondence to her mother that fills a lacuna from October 1818, when the *Uranie* left Timor, to November 1819, when she reached Port Jackson, was published in French in 1927. In preparing this translation, Professor Rivière incorporated three letters written by Arago to a boyhood friend, which cover three undescribed weeks in Port Jackson. Letters from Rose to her sister-in-law, Clémentine de Freycinet, between 1824 and the year of her death, 1832, complete the picture of a remarkable woman. While there is no bibliography, notes to the introduction (page xxv) provide references for further reading.

From Gibraltar the expedition sailed for Western Australia via Tenerife, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Mauritius, and Bourbon Island, and from there to Timor, the Moluccas, the Marianas, Guam, and Hawaii, arriving in Port Jackson on November 18, 1819. These "stopovers" (as the fluent and readable translation dubs them) were all described with great attention to detail by Madame, presenting a vivid and novel

view of these places, partly due to Madame de Freycinet's bright, pert personality, but also because she was so very French. Surely, only a Frenchwoman would observe that a certain Australian lady (page 120) was not just "very pretty," but had "a ravishing ankle, or so Louis noticed!"

Departing from Sydney on Christmas Day, the corvette rounded Cape Horn on February 7, 1820, struck a submerged rock, and was deliberately beached in the Falkland Islands so that as much as possible of the scientific collection could be salvaged before the ship broke up. Students of American maritime history will be particularly interested in the devious and expensive negotiations with the captains of two American vessels — whaler *General Knox* and trader *Mercury* — for passage to Rio, which were finally, and after many complicated maneuvers, resolved by buying the *Mercury* and turning her into the *Physicienne*.

Altogether, a splendid addition to the library of anyone interested in the early nineteenth century Pacific voyaging and life on board a discovery vessel, here described from a fresh and beguiling perspective.

JOAN DRUETT
Wellington, New Zealand

CHARLES M. ROBINSON, III, *Hurricane of Fire: The Union Assault on Fort Fisher*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. x + 249 pages, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-55750-720-1.

Every American should read this stirring account of the assault and capture of the Confederate Citadel known as Fort Fisher, at the entrance to the Cape Fear River, where the South's most important logistic supply line began and ended. Charles Robinson has woven together a strong fabric of historical facts, which presents a glowing image of brave men, many of them veterans of the most bloody battles of the Civil War, and many more of them little more than boys with no combat

experience at all. Yet, all of them did their duty and fought with the fierce determination of patriots, ready and willing to die for their flag, their homes, their families, and their comrades.

The focus of this narrative is on the Union Navy and the Confederate officers in command at Fort Fisher. It touches briefly on the early interest by Federal authorities in the need to cut the supply line of blockade runners who delivered their cargoes of cotton bales to Nassau and Bermuda, and in exchange returned to Wilmington with the supplies needed by General Robert E. Lee to keep his armies in the field. But as is so often the case to this day, political considerations were deemed more important than military strategy, and the result was a feeble attempt to bombard Fort Caswell, satellite bastion at the western entrance to the Cape Fear. It had no lasting effect on the Confederate logistic capability, and the focus remained on Charleston, where Federal pride demanded revenge for the loss of Fort Sumter.

Robinson points out in his account of the earlier days (1862) how the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, and his Assistant Secretary, Gustavus Fox, frittered away more than one opportunity to successfully attack Charleston. By the time they finally got their ducks in line, General Beauregard had so improved the defenses there that the struggle to render Charleston impotent became an extremely costly event. In the attack on Battery Wagner alone, Union losses were more than eight hundred killed. However, Fort Sumter was reduced to rubble by naval bombardment, and the port was neutralized. As Robinson points out, the long term effect of this punishing campaign was to strengthen the resolve of the Union Navy, which now was determined that it was going to take Fort Fisher, with or without the help of Army forces.

Robinson outlines how political factors again entered into the selection of the naval commanders who would plan and execute the attack on Fort Fisher. However, in the case of the Navy, the final result was to give the command to Admiral David D. Porter. There could not have been a better choice. The Army's designated commander, after much indecision,

was General Butler. Robinson's description of the botched assault on Fort Fisher by Butler, in the first attempt on Christmas Day, 1864, presents a sad picture of naval and army forces acting independently, without regard for the effect of their actions one on the other. Most importantly, the performance of Army General Butler, with victory almost in hand, withdrawing his troops was a stain on the honor of those who fought, and in many cases died, so valiantly.

Admiral Porter was livid about Butler, and reported to his superiors in Washington, and to General Grant, that he was prepared to return to Fort Fisher as soon as possible, and with a new Army commander as his ally, capture this last Confederate link to the supply chain. As a result, we find Porter back with General Terry in command of the Army's invading force, and his entire fleet in position to commence the heaviest naval bombardment in history on 13 January 1865. Robinson's account of the next two days is packed with vivid descriptions of devastating bombardment, a garrison of incredibly brave Confederates, and a largely disorganized but heroic brigade of Yankee sailors and marines, who charged across several hundred yards of open sand beach, into an inferno of rifle and musket fire, with no weapons except a saber and revolver. These young men were the flower of America, and Robinson makes them come alive in the face of death and destruction. What men! What a terrible waste of our national substance. Yet what pride they invoke in us today, to know that these were our forefathers. Here we see Lamb, Whiting, Porter, Dewey, Cushing, Evans, Parker, Bache, Cushman, Selfridge, Dawson, and a host of others whose names are forever enshrined in the annals of naval history. We also see Terry and his brave Army troops fighting in hand-to-hand combat to wrest control of the fort from the small band of defenders, who fought so savagely to hold on, but the die was cast. The Union forces finally overwhelmed the men in grey, and Fort Fisher was in Union hands at last.

Hurricane of Fire is a superb book, meticulously researched, and written with the kind of

passion and emotion which makes the reader feel the stress of battle, hear the sound of cannon and the cries of the wounded, and witness the heroic deeds which are at the foundation of our heritage. Here is a large helping of inspiration at a time when it is sorely needed. Indulge and enjoy!

CHARLES R. CALHOUN
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JOHN MCCANNON, *Red Arctic: Polar Exploration and the Myth of the North in the Soviet Union, 1932-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. xii + 234 pages, ten illustrations in black and white, one map, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, 6" x 9½". ISBN 0-19-511436-1. \$49.95.

One of the unnoticed consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the decay of communism, and the end of the Cold War is that things in Russia's far north have slowly, imperceptibly, been getting back to normal. The Slavs who arrived to colonize and civilize the place, to exploit its minerals and its strategic advantages have recently been seeping back to the warmer, more familiar southwest. The population balance between them and the indigenous locals is noticeably shifting to the latter's benefit. Despite their manifest disadvantage and the softening, distorting effects of Soviet society, the ancient ways of people like the Chukchi in the far northeast are clearly reappearing. In its way, this remarkable northern renaissance shows that the Soviet system failed as much in the Arctic as it did everywhere else.

In *Red Arctic*, John McCannon has charted the rise and fall of the dream of a pure Northern world where physical bravery, ideological fervor, scientific expertise, and party support would establish an exciting new Soviet society. It is an authoritative, clear, comprehensive (although he tends to skate over the military-strategic dimension of his subject), and readable review, which argues its case persuasively.

Professor McCannon starts off by remind-

ing us that the Russians were attracted to the frozen north centuries before the October Revolution, not least because of the lure of a possible northern sea route to Asia. Naturally, there was a strong naval interest in all this, but the incompetence and lassitude of the Tsarist regime limited the impact of the Russians on their north. Their settlements were islands in a wilderness inhabited by unassimilated, uninterested peoples. All the same, the explorations and economic development of the Tsarist era were perhaps rather more substantial than Professor McCannon implies.

Nevertheless, when the Revolution came all was expected to be different. From the start, the new Soviet regime was aware of the economic and strategic advantages to be derived from opening up shipping routes along the northern coast and into the northwest Pacific. These sea lines of communication could help bind together the new Soviet commonwealth so recently torn apart by civil war and foreign intervention. The north was to become a part of the homeland, and a potentially crucial one at that.

Accordingly, the authorities in Moscow created three great state agencies to explore the Arctic, to settle and develop it. First, in 1920 there was Komseveroput. By 1932 it was falling into disfavor through its own internal inconsistencies and disagreements, and was then replaced by the much bigger and better organized Glavsevmorput, the so-called Commissariat of Ice. It was, as McCannon aptly put it, a socialist equivalent of the British East India Company, reigning supreme over its Arctic kingdom, answerable only to the highest authorities in far away Moscow.

Its enormous power was bolstered by the romantic image of the area and of those who explored and tamed it. The polar aviators moving "from victory to victory" in the north, in particular, became folk heroes to a population otherwise beset with the hardships and privations of Stalinism in its most ruthless period. Glavsevmorput and, indeed, Stalin himself did their very best to milk this source of public support for all, and more than, it was worth. The Arctic became a propaganda tool.

When things began to go wrong, as inevita-

bly they would, the days of Glavsevmorput itself were numbered. By 1939 the writing was on the wall and a new, more ruthless, and totally unromantic agency, Dalstroï, effectively took over, basing many of its activities on the unfortunates of the Gulag. Dalstroï's reign lasted almost to the end of the Soviet system, but although northern nostalgia lived on in the shape of the Soviet icebreaker fleet, the development of the Arctic as a major theater of military operations and the establishment of new economic settlements in the north, the glory days were plainly over. Dalstroï withered and decayed just like the regime of which it was a part.

John McCannon's review is much commended for its depth and for the originality of its subject and thesis. While he may not always convince, and it is perhaps a shame he did not devote more attention to the fledgling Soviet navy's interest in the area; he certainly stimulates. The book is full of flashing insights, and makes a good read.

GEOFFREY TILL

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CHARLES DANA GIBSON, *The Broadbill Swordfishery of the Northwest Atlantic: An Economic and Natural History*. Camden, Maine: Ensign Press, 1998. 139 pages, black and white photographs, illustrations, maps, select bibliography, index. Paper. ISBN 0-9608996-7-7. \$19.95.

This slim volume is divided into three parts, each of which may be read discretely, or very nearly so. Part Three offers us a fascinating introduction to the natural history of that magnificent creature, *Xiphias gladius*, the Broadbill swordfish. Part One provides a summary, and to some extent anecdotal history of its exploitation by fishers along the Atlantic seaboard of North America. Part Two is the story of the Chilmark Fleet Company, its attempt to bring modern business methods to a traditional industry, and its failure.

For those interested in the human exploitation of the living resources of the oceans around us, Part One offers a fascinating glimpse of a world that has been but rarely and cursorily examined in the published literature. Gibson's treatment will probably not satisfy the academic historian, but the general reader will find the text illuminating and interesting, while for those Atlantic coast fishers who "exercise their business in great waters," the anecdotal treatment and the excellent photographs that accompany the text will evoke strong memories of a fishery that smacked of excitement and high adventure, of danger and of derring-do. To the ecologist, the burden of the tale will be clear: here is but another case of a species hunted to the edge of extinction by human predators who have failed abysmally to recognize their responsibility to protect and conserve, who have hunted the swordfish for some two hundred years without undertaking the serious scientific studies that would have elucidated its life history, and who have most particularly failed to appreciate the propensity of unmanaged technology to destroy.

Part Two is the story of the Chilmark Fleet Company, a cautionary tale of amateurs who grossly underestimated the vicissitudes of a fishery conducted in the stormy waters of the northwest Atlantic, the natural variabilities of the ecosystem in which the swordfish function, and the boom and bust tendencies of many natural product markets. Their oversimplification of every aspect of the industry into which they plunged precipitously led to failure that was virtually inevitable.

Part Three, the natural history of *Xiphias gladius*, is a valuable introduction to the subject. Nevertheless, it raises almost as many questions as it answers. Above all, it suggests that a great deal more scientific study is essential if the current population decline is to be arrested and if the nations involved in the exploitation of the swordfish are to come to some soundly based agreement that will assure its survival.

LESLIE HARRIS
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SHARON HANLEY DISHER, *First Class: Women Join the Ranks at the Naval Academy*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998). xii + 364 pages. Cloth, 6" x 9½". ISBN 1-55750-165-3. \$29.95.

First Class is an intriguing book about the first eighty-one women who were admitted to the Naval Academy in 1976 as a result of Public Law 94-106. Sharon Hanley Disher, who was among the fifty-five women graduates in 1980, based her story on letters, interviews, and her personal recollection. One of the two main characters in the book is real (and is in all probability Disher herself), and the other is a composite of several women classmates.

Disher begins by describing some of the entry requirements and jargon that are specific to the Naval Academy. Students of the Naval Academy, known as midshipmen, are political appointees, and must not be over the age of 22 to qualify for entry (page 12). The Naval Academy's "plebe year" corresponds with that which civilian universities refer to as freshman year. Similarly, "youngsters" are equivalent to sophomores, members of the "second-class" are comparable to juniors, and the academy's "first-classmen" correspond to university seniors. Disher further explains that twelve plebes make up one squad, three squads make up one platoon, and two platoons comprise one company (page 11). Similarly, the blue-rimmed white hats worn by members of the academy are called "dixie cups," bathrooms are called "heads," the annual handbook is known as "reef points," and the act of running through the corridors of the academy, which is often a requirement of plebes, is known as "chopping."

Disher does an outstanding job of taking the reader behind the walls of the Naval Academy and introducing the broad challenges faced by women and men in their efforts to become naval officers. Attending an institution which provides military training as well as an academic education, midshipmen were required to engage in rigorous physical training, memorize "reef points," endure personal humiliation, and meet high academic standards.

Unlike men, however, women at the acad-

emy faced conflicts because of their sexuality and gender. While the two main characters in the book, Kate and Sarah, had high aspirations in this male dominated institution, they also struggled to maintain their feminine identity. These women suffered a loss of self-esteem when they were required to cut off their hair, abandon their makeup and jewelry, and wear masculine looking uniforms. Dating and indeed fraternization did occur. Kate became engaged to a midshipman in her class. Sarah and Ryan's romance began while she was yet a plebe and he was a first-classman. However, these relationships were problematic and ephemeral for women who were serious about pursuing a career as a naval officer.

Regardless of how well they performed physically and academically, women were often viewed by their male counterparts as being intruders in a "man's profession." The book is replete with examples of women being targets of abusive name-calling, malicious pranks, various forms of molestation, and even rape. Arguably, a few male midshipmen treated women as equals. Most of the men, however, detested the presence of women at the academy which they felt "[h]istorically... provided a ritualistic rite of passage into manhood" (page 308). Consequently, women in *First Class* were often alienated.

Disher implies that male opposition to the presence of women at the academy was exacerbated by a double standard in Navy policies governing the assignment, training, and outfitting of men and women. Women were not permitted to serve on ships, and some of their physical training and uniforms differed from those of the men (pages 66-67). The reader is left with the impression that women attending the Naval Academy in subsequent years are more accepted by their male peers partly because women play a bigger role in combat and are now treated the same as the men (page 362).

Although an excellent account of many challenges faced by the women who pioneered the Naval Academy, *First Class* falls short of being a documentary. Disher does not discuss important historical events which led to Public Law 94-106. Similarly, she neglects to fully

examine subsequent legislation, such as that which allowed women to serve on Naval ships in 1978. Further, much of the book has been fictionalized, which weakens its use as a historical document. Nonetheless, *First Class* reads like a good novel based on a true story.

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RUSSELL SYDNOR CRENSHAW, JR., *South Pacific Destroyer*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998. vii + 283 pages, photographs, maps, appendices, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-55750-136-X. \$32.95.

Although its title is somewhat of a misnomer (being about the Solomons campaign as much as about a specific ship), *South Pacific Destroyer* is a very good book. Captain Crenshaw has deftly woven together the story of his ship, the *Maury*, with the many naval actions occurring in the Solomons from late 1942 to mid-1943.

In general, Crenshaw's method is to alternate chapters on his ship's activities with chapters on various other aspects of the battles in the Solomons. He introduces the *Maury* and her crew in the first chapter with colorful and detailed descriptions that capture the reader's imagination. His comments are revealing and often amusing. He then shifts the focus in the following, shorter chapter to higher command levels, discussing briefly Admiral William F. Halsey's plans and problems in his South Pacific theater, along with a very brief description of the battle area. The focus shifts again in the third chapter to accounts of the early deeds of the PT boats, the New Zealand corvettes, and the air units based at Henderson Field on Guadalcanal. By using this writing method, Crenshaw shows that the *Maury* was not operating in a vacuum, but that there was a lot going on around her. This general style is followed in the rest of the book.

There were several major surface actions

during the period covered in this book; the *Maury* was not involved in all of these. Nevertheless, Crenshaw describes these battles to show the growth of American tactics against the Japanese forces. He also describes the inability of many US naval officers to comprehend the fact that the Japanese had a superior weapon in the Long Lance torpedo. The frustrating story of Japanese and American torpedo development has been told before. Nonetheless, it is still capable of arousing deep emotions over the insufferable arrogance of individuals and organizations incapable of admitting that they were wrong or that the enemy could develop a better weapon. Crenshaw is particularly scathing in this matter.

Among the battles described in the book are Kula Gulf, Kolombangara, and Vella Gulf. Crenshaw's descriptions of these actions are quite good, with many colorful details gleaned from his own personal experience or from conversations with other battle participants. He deliberately describes the battles as they were seen at the time, leaving the historical details and actual enemy losses to the last chapter and to an appendix.

Crenshaw's love for the *Maury* and her crew is obvious, as is his respect and admiration for her skipper. Yet he does not let this blind him to the fact that human beings have frailties. Some on the *Maury* did not measure up, either through incompetence or through errors in judgment. Crenshaw describes incidents involving such individuals without rancor, as just part of the trials and tribulations of war. His ability to observe with compassion but also with honesty is a major reason that this is such a good book.

South Pacific Destroyer is well written and highly entertaining. Anyone with an interest in World War II, not just those looking specifically for naval themes, will be rewarded with a fine read.

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MICHAEL T. ISENBERG, *Sword of the Republic: The United States Navy in an Era of Cold War and Violent Peace. Volume I, 1945-1962*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. xiii + 6" x 9½". ISBN 0-31-09911-8.

Sword of the Republic is a fluent and sophisticated account of the United States Navy concentrating on the seventeen years between the end of World War II and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Michael T. Isenberg, who tragically has died since the publication of this volume, was an associate professor of history at the US Naval Academy. Previously, he served as a naval officer. *Sword of the Republic* reflects his scholarly skills as well as his intimate personal understanding of the twentieth century navy.

Isenberg's thesis is that the "Navy's ability to keep the seas, to project power, and to establish the American presence abroad was among the most significant international facts of the postwar world" (page 836). He sees the Navy's role in the Cuban Missile Crisis, the final operation described in his volume, as the best example of sea power's value in the twentieth century. Yet Isenberg's broad examination of naval history is far from being uncritical. He believes, for example, that the Navy's opposition to service unification during the 1940s was shortsighted. He blames the seagoing service for the initial failure of unification to work. Even though the Navy developed a progressive policy for the integration of African-Americans, Isenberg concludes that the service lacked commitment and a record of substantial achievement in implementing its racial policies prior to 1962. From an operational point of view, the 1958 American landings in Lebanon were a success, but Michael Isenberg is convinced that the US foreign policy leading to this intervention was ill advised.

The breadth of *Sword of the Republic* is impressive. Although Isenberg's central concern is with naval operations, which are described with special vividness, he includes a good deal of material on weapons development as well as on other technological programs. He describes logistical activities, acknowledging

their central importance for any military undertaking. Adopting a traditional view that the quality and motivation of an institution's men and women are of preeminent importance in explaining its success or failure, he delves effectively into the social history of both the officer and enlisted communities.

For all his sympathy for the rank and file, however, Isenberg reserves extensive biographical treatment for only a relatively few senior leaders. Among them are Admirals Mahan, King, Nimitz, Sherman, Rickover, Burke, and Anderson. On the civilian side, he offers extended discussions of James Forrestal and Robert McNamara. Isenberg's comprehension of the dynamics of modern naval history is demonstrated by the inclusion of Carl Vinson in his gallery of great-men portraits. He reminds us of the profound influence that great Congressional leader had on the twentieth century navy.

Michael Isenberg's erudition is another notable feature of his book. His text is adorned with appropriate quotations from sources as diverse as Herodotus, Shakespeare, Montesquieu, James Boswell, and Sun Tzu.

Despite its many strengths, this volume can be criticized. In my opinion, Isenberg's flowing writing style sometimes becomes prolix. A case in point is the more than eighty pages of background on the pre-VJ-Day navy he felt com-

pelled to include before turning to the postwar era that is the stated subject of his volume. Many reviews of books published in recent years lament the absence of energetic editors willing to force authors to eliminate extraneous materials. *Sword of the Republic* is another volume lacking such an editor. This book would benefit significantly from judicious pruning.

Another problem, admittedly somewhat more technical in nature, is Isenberg's reliance on "bucket" footnotes. These enumerate numerous sources used for several pages of text, but he does not match the citations with the specific quotation or factual statement they support. This lack of precision will be a major problem for scholars wishing to validate his research.

Michael Isenberg intended to continue the story of the Cold War Navy beyond 1962, a plan that was cut short by his untimely death. The absence of additional volumes from his able pen is lamentable. Despite its few shortcomings, *Sword of the Republic* demonstrates that Professor Isenberg was a gifted scholar who had a special understanding of the modern history of the United States Navy.

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Arlington, Virginia

SHORT NOTICES

V. A. DIVIN, *To the American Coast: The Voyages and Explorations of M. S. Gvozdev, the Discoverer of Northwestern America*. Translated by Anatoli Perminov. Edited, with introduction, by J. L. Smith. Anchorage, Alaska: White Stone Press, 1997. vii + 138 pages, illustrations, appendices, maps, bibliography, index. ISBN 09626727-1-8.

This short book is a translation of a 1956 study by Russian historian V. A. Divin, and comprises another entry from White Stone

Press on the early exploration of Alaska. Divin's article (pages 39–81 of this volume) traces Gvozdev's 1732 voyage to the "Big Land" and sets it in context; the rest of editor Smith's study includes an introduction which discusses the literature on the subject, together with various appendices, including a detailed history of names of islands in the Bering Strait (pages 107–130). Smith has already edited L. A. Goldenberg's 1985 biographical study of Gvozdev (White Stone Press, 1990), and together these works go far to bring English-

speaking readers up to date with recent Russian scholarship on this relatively unknown explorer.

STEPHEN HAYCOX, JAMES E. BARNETT, AND CAEDMON A. LIBURD, ED., *Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific, 1741–1805*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press for the Cook Inlet Historical Society in the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, 1997. xii + 200 pages, illustrations, index. Paper. ISBN 0-29597583-0. \$19.95.

In 1997 the Cook Inlet Historical Society hosted sixteen international scholars at a symposium commemorating the bicentennial of Vancouver's survey voyage of 1792–1794; their papers are reprinted here. J. K. Banett, "Alaska and the North Pacific" serves along with the editor's remarks as an introduction. Four papers discuss motives and objectives: Iris Engstrand (Spain), Glyndwr Williams (Vancouver and the Admiralty), Robin Inglis (Lapérouse in 1986), and Phyllis Herda (Malaspina). The second section deals with science and technology: J. Naish on Vancouver and mariners' health, John Kendrick on shipbuilding, Alun Davies on Vancouver's surveys, Andrew David on British cartography of Alaska, and Carol Urness on Russian North Pacific mapping to 1792. The final group considers outcomes and consequences: J. C. H. King on Vancouver as "cautious collector", K. E. Woodward on explorer artists' images of native Alaskans, A. Payne on the publication and readership of voyage journals, S. J. Langdon on Indian-Spanish encounters in Bucareli Bay, 1779, and Robin Fisher on Vancouver and the native peoples of the Northwest Coast.

DAVID M. WILLIAMS, ED., *The World of Shipping*. Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing, 1997. xxvi + 180 pages. ISBN 1-85928-347-0. \$59.95.

The eleven articles in this collection are part of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of *The Journal of Transport History*, in which journal each was originally published. S. Ville studies the history of the Henley family, shipowners of Wapping, 1775–1830; J. H. Wilde treats the creation of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, while F. Harcourt discusses British mail contracts, 1838–1914. F. Broeze outlines the history of steam navigation to Australia and New Zealand up to World War I. M. Cooper's focus is the Glen Line to the Far East, 1870–1911, while S. Jones writes of G. B. Dodwell, a shipping agent in the same area and era. D. H. Aldcroft's subject is the depression in British shipping, 1901–1911. Ports are considered by R. W. Barsness (the US since 1900) and A. Olukoju (Lagos, 1892–1946). M. E. Fletcher's paper on the transition from coal to oil in British shipping and T. Chida's on the development of Japan's post-1945 shipping policy complete the collection.

EDWARD GRAY, *Manchester Ship Canal*. Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1997. 160 pages, 225 black and white illustrations. Paper. ISBN 017509-1459-9. \$19.95.

An interesting volume in the series "Sutton's Photographic History of Transport," *Manchester Ship Canal* offers no text aside from a brief introduction, but each of the many photographs is accompanied by a three or four-line caption which adds much valuable commentary. Chapters deal with construction, the early development of the canal, various sections of ports, wharves, docks, and ship canal railways, and the sundry tugs and other vessels which inhabit this famous waterway. The Manchester Ship Canal enjoyed its centenary in 1994; this volume is certainly a suitable tribute at a reasonable price. (Available at Books International, PO Box 605, Herndon, VA 20172-0606.)

EDWARD OLMSTEAD, WAYNE E. STARK, AND SPENCER C. TUCKER, *The Big Guns: Civil War Siege, Seacoast, and Naval Cannon*. Alexandria Bay, N.Y.: Museum Restoration Service, 1997. 360 pages, illustrations, diagrams, glossary, appendices, bibliography, index. ISBN 088855012X.

Slightly less than half of this oversized reference book is taken up with a well-illustrated, comprehensive discussion of the various "big guns" of the Civil War, including mortars, howitzers, naval guns and rifles, Dahlgren, Parrott, and Brooke models, and various experimental types. The remainder is composed of extensive indices which focus mainly on those guns which survived the war on both sides, their characteristics and location, and wherever known, their history. Many of these weapons were used on shipboard, and others were intended to be used to defend against attack by sea, making this an invaluable work for Civil War specialists.

WILLIAM H. MILLER, JR., *Picture History of the French Line*. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1997. 110 pages, illustrations, bibliography. Paper. ISBN 0-486-29443-9. \$13.95.

Another in Dover's series of "Maritime Books," William Miller's new oversize collection of fascinating photographs chronicle one of the most famous of all transatlantic services, the glory of Le Havre, the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, or "French Line" to Americans and British. Miller, who has composed several similar books on other lines in the same series, has an eye for the telling illustration — although, of course, many are drawn from publicity photos from the firm. Many are not, however, such as the horrifying series on the fire and capsizing of the *Normandie* in New York in 1941. The last survivor of the once great lines was the majestic *France*, sold away in 1976 eventually to reappear as the Caribbean cruise ship *Norway*. The CGT had lasted more than a century, and its history certainly deserves to be

celebrated in this reasonably priced photo essay.

DAVID J. STARKEY AND ALAN G. JAMIESON, EDS., *Exploiting the Sea: Aspects of Britain's Maritime Economy since 1870*. Exeter: Exeter University Press (American distributor: Northwestern University Press), 1998. xiii + 220 pages, index. Paper. ISBN 0859895335. £15.00.

The ten papers in this collection were delivered by invitation at the 1995 conference at the University of Exeter Centre for Maritime Historical Studies. Most deal specifically with shipping and shipbuilding in the era since 1870, such as D. Starkey's on southwest England, J. Armstrong's on the coastal trade 1870–1930, A. Jamieson on the decline of these industries since 1830, and S. Pollard's "retrospective view" on shipping and the British economy. Two papers treat naval procurement: A. Gordon's on 1918–1939 and A. Gorst and L. Johnmann's on 1945–1964. R. Robinson studies distant water trawling (1880–1939) in the only contribution specifically on the fishing industry. The final two chapters consider yachting (J. Cusack) and Welsh seaside resorts (N. Morgan).

MAJOR JEAN MORIN AND LIEUTENANT COMMANDER RICHARD H. GIMBLETT, *Operation Friction, 1990–1991: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997 (2181 Queen Street East, Suite 301, Toronto, Ontario M43 1E5, Canada). 299 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. Hardcover. ISBN 1-55002-256-3. Paper. ISBN 1-55002-257-1.

The Canadian contribution to the Gulf War was not particularly large, but it did include air units, a combat logistics force, a field hospital and other elements used for special purposes — for example, "operation SPONGE," designed to counter Iraq's "environmental terrorism" in

releasing millions of gallons of oil into the northern Gulf with the plan of setting it on fire. Although published commercially (also in a French edition), this is in fact the official Canadian history, written by two professional historians who served in the Gulf and subsequently were assigned to this project by the Directorate of History of the Department of National Defence. It is a well done, carefully researched account, particularly interesting on the problems of integrating allies of varying size in a multinational operation.

JAMES E. WISE, JR. AND ANNE COLLIER REHILL, *Stars in Blue: Movie Actors in America's Sea Services*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 316 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. ISBN 1-55750-937-9. \$29.95.

Several books are available on ships and the US navy on film; this seems to be the first on

film stars in the navy and Coast Guard. James Wise and Anne Collier Rehill present short chapters on about forty actors who served from World War I to the war in Vietnam; each is provided with appropriate illustrations. Although a bibliography is included, detailed sources for factual data are not indicated. Some of the tales are well known: Glenn Ford, for example, was USMC sergeant in World War II, but a USN reserve captain in Vietnam. Bogart, Fonda, Borgnine, Kirk Douglas, Tony Curtis, Gene Kelly... movie buffs will find this book a treat, not least for the illustrations (for example, Chief Boatswain's Mate Cesar Romero manning a Coast Guard attack transport winch). An extra bonus will be found in several appendices, including one on some female stars who made morale-lifting visits. After all, this too was naval history!

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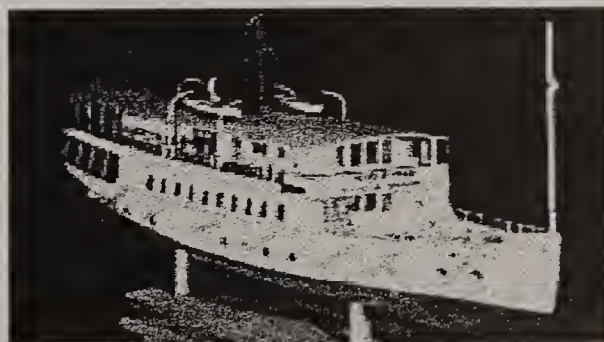
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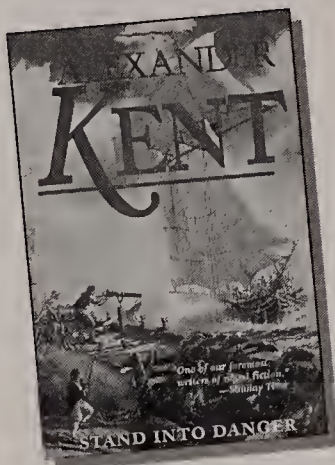
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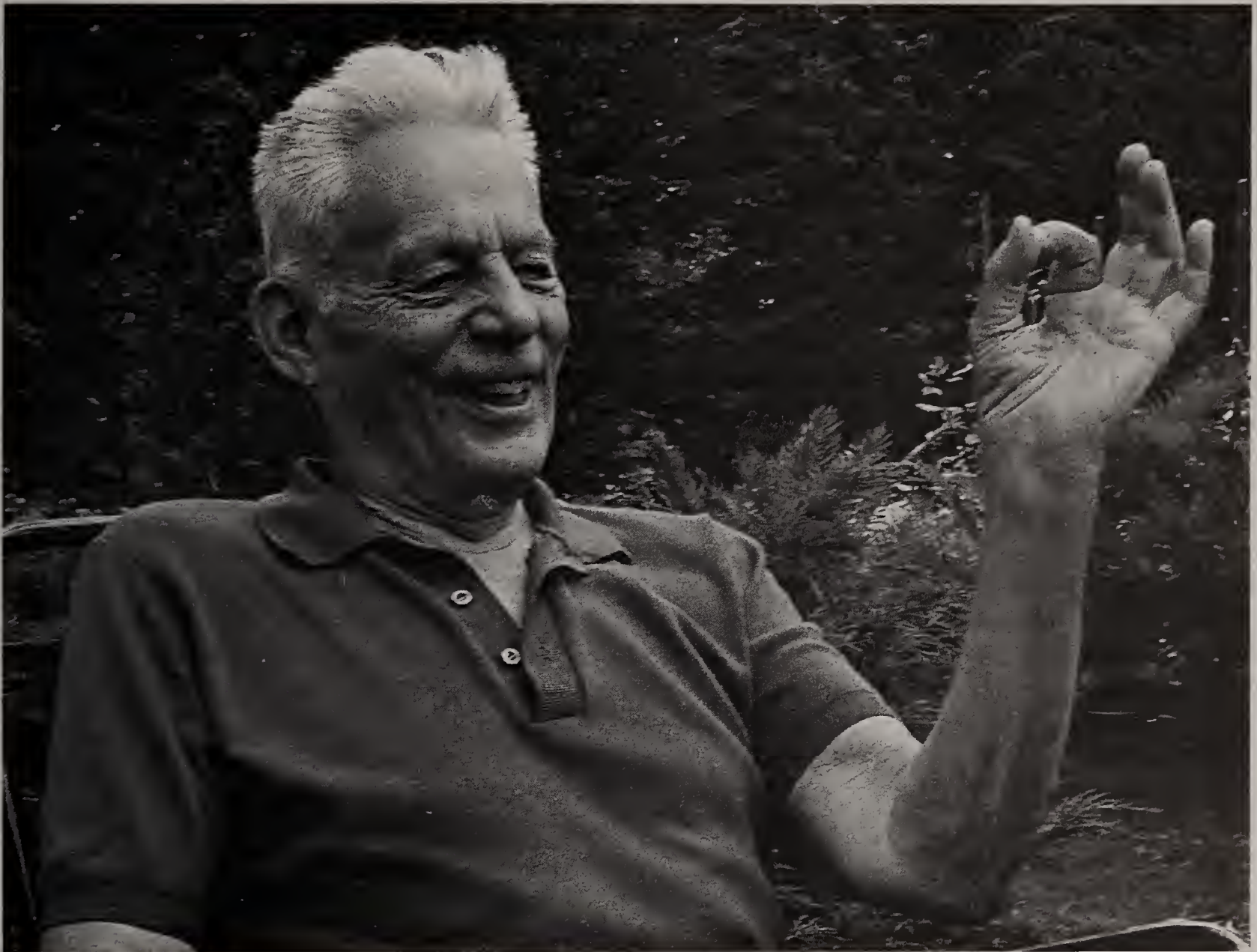
ANNOUNCEMENT

The American Neptune is very pleased to announce that the Francis B. Lothrop Jr. award for the year 1998, Volume 58, has been awarded in two categories. The award for Best Article goes to Francis D. Cogliano, "We Fled from the Valley of Destruction" in 58/2. The prize for Best Article on Maritime Arts goes to A. J. Peluso Jr., "The New York Maritime Photographs" in 58/3.

No award was made for an article in the field of maritime modeling.

The Lothrop Prize is again offered in all three categories for Volume 59, 1999.

THE FRANCIS B. LOTHROP, JR. 1999 AWARDS



The Francis B. Lothrop, Jr. Awards for 1999 will continue its tradition of encouraging authors to explore the varied aspects of maritime history and arts by awarding prizes in the following categories:

- ▶ Best article in *The American Neptune*, Volume 59.
- ▶ Best manuscript in the field of maritime arts.
- ▶ Best manuscript in the field of maritime modeling (*why* we make them, not *how*).

All articles accepted for publication in *The American Neptune* in Volume 59 are automatically entered for consideration. Winners will be announced in Volume 60, No. 1. For a copy of the Authors' Guidelines, please contact the Publications Department, Peabody Essex Museum, East India Square, Salem, MA 01970-3783, call (978) 745-1876, ext. 3172, or E-mail dori_phillips@pem.org.

JOHN LYMAN BOOK AWARDS
NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR OCEANIC HISTORY
1998

At its annual meeting held 5–9 May 1999 in Lake George, New York, the North American Society for Oceanic History announced the recipients of its John Lyman Book Awards which recognize what the awards committee judged to be the best book published in 1998 in each of five categories:

Canadian Naval and Maritime History

ROBERT MALCOMSON

Lords of the Lake: The Naval War on Lake Ontario, 1812–1914
 Toronto: Robin Brass Studio

US Maritime History

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE, WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR., JOHN B. HATTENDORF,
 JEFFREY J. SAFFORD, EDWARD W. SLOAN, AND ANDREW W. GERMAN
America and the Sea: A Maritime History
 Mystic: Mystic Seaport

US Naval History

JACK SWEETMAN, EDITOR
Great American Naval Battles
 Annapolis: Naval Institute Press

Biography, Autobiography, and Memoir

W. GILLIES ROSS
This Distant and Unsurveyed Country:
A Woman's Winter at Baffin Island, 1857–58
 Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press

Reference Work and Published Primary Source

HAROLD B. GILL, JR., AND JOANNE YOUNG ROSS, EDITORS
Searching for the Franklin Expedition:
The Arctic Journal of Robert Randolph Carter
 Annapolis: Naval Institute Press



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